

MONSTERS AND DEMONS
IN THE ANCIENT
AND MEDIEVAL WORLDS

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AND MEDIEVAL WORLDS

PAPERS PRESENTED IN HONOR OF EDITH PORADA

The Franklin Jasper Walls Lectures

Franklin Jasper Walls, who died in 1963, bequeathed his residuary estate to The Pierpont Morgan Library to establish a lecture series in the fine arts, iconography, and archaeology, with the provision that the lectures be ultimately published in book form.

Throughout his life, Mr. Walls was interested in the fine arts and in the study of art history. When the Association of Fellows of The Pierpont Morgan Library was organized in 1949, he became one of the founding members. He was particularly concerned with the Library's lecture program, and served on the Association's Lecture Committee. Without ever revealing his testamentary plans, he followed with keen attention the design and construction of the Library's new Lecture Hall, completed a few months before his death.

The essays printed here are the tenth series of the Franklin Jasper Walls Lectures to be published and the second series on an archaeological subject. The first series in archaeology, *Ancient Art in Seals*, published in 1980, was based on three illustrated lectures by Pierre Amiet, Nimet Özgüç, and John Boardman.

The symposium on demons and monsters, as well as the accompanying exhibition, were both initiated by Charles Ryskamp, the Director of The Pierpont Morgan Library. The symposium was organized by Ann E. Farkas, Prudence O. Harper and Evelyn B. Harrison; the exhibition, by Edith Porada and William M. Voelke. Both the symposium and the exhibition sought to demonstrate the connections of ancient Near Eastern art and thought with those of later periods.

Publication of this book has been aided by a generous grant to The Pierpont Morgan Library from the Trust of Natalie P. Webster in honor of Edith Porada.

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PAPERS PRESENTED IN HONOR OF
EDITH PORADA

EDITED BY
ANN E. FARKAS, PRUDENCE O. HARPER
AND EVELYN B. HARRISON



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Foreword

The papers presented here in honor of Edith Porada were first given in somewhat different form as lectures at The Pierpont Morgan Library in April 1983. We felt that it was appropriate to celebrate Dr. Porada's career as scholar, teacher, and curator with these lectures and a book on a subject which has long interested her and should lead to further study. During the lectures and discussions new insights were gained and the ideas formulated then will continue to encourage research in the obscure and fascinating field of the mysterious, demonic, and monstrous in the ancient and medieval world.

It is now nearly fifty years since Dr. Porada first became associated with the Morgan Library. In 1956 she was made Honorary Curator of Seals and Tablets at the Library, where she has held most of her seminars for Columbia University. She is now the Arthur Lehman Professor Emeritus of Art History and Archaeology; at her retirement in 1981 from Columbia, a professorship in ancient Near Eastern art history and archaeology was named for her. She is as active as ever in her curatorial work at the Library in addition to continuing to teach. She has produced a generation of scholars scattered over the United States, Europe, and the Near East who are already leaders in art and archaeology in universities and museums throughout a large part of the world. Their loyalty to Edith Porada is extraordinary; they are the finest tribute to her.

In 1948 the Morgan Library showed for the first time its collection of engraved Near Eastern seals, tracing the development of Mesopotamian art from the fourth millennium B.C. to the fourth century B.C. The beauty of the engraving was dramatically revealed in enlarged photographs of the impressions which were displayed with the seals and their plasticine impressions. In the same year the collection of seals was definitively published in a volume catalogued by Edith Porada in collaboration with Briggs Buchanan. In recent years more than ever there has been a great interest in iconography. For the ancient Near Eastern field, the carved seal stones constitute the only extensive iconographic material which remains.

We are deeply indebted to the scholars who have contributed these papers, to Priscilla C. Barker for her work on this book, to Barbara Porter for editing Edith Porada's bibliography, to Ann E. Farkas and Evelyn B. Harrison for their help with the symposium, and, above all, to Prudence O. Harper for her involvement in every aspect of the project. This book is a labor of love from all of us for Edith Porada.

Charles Ryskamp
Director
The Pierpont Morgan Library

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Introduction

MONSTERS AND DEMONS: DEATH AND LIFE IN THE ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL WORLDS

People of our own time who live in areas distant from the centers of civilization, unprotected by modern technology and medicine, use magical procedures and the imagined protection of divine powers to defend themselves against natural disasters and illness. The same was doubtless true of the peoples of antiquity. One of the important means of influencing inimical powers was their representation in a context in which they could be manipulated for the benefit of one or more individuals. The first step toward this process must have been the act of giving visual form to evil powers, which were most frightening when they were formless and unseen. Gradually a system appears to have been built up in which certain figures represented evil beings while others were devised which were shown to conquer or, at least to control, evil forces. Each region devised its own fearsome beings whose appearance seems to have been influenced by the climate and fauna of the respective region.

In Mesopotamia the evil beings were generally conceived of as composed of the dangerous features of two or more animals, of which the most common were the lion and related big cats, whose tearing teeth and claws threatened painful death; the eagle (and other birds of prey), whose beaks and claws could also tear, and whose swift flight was likened to that of destructive storms, which afflict Iraq; and serpents with their deadly poison. In descriptions of Mesopotamian art, creatures which seem to belong to the animal world because they walk on all fours, are called monsters, whereas those which walk on two legs with a human gait are called demons, a terminology not necessarily used in the iconography of other regions. The more human the image of a demon was in ancient Near Eastern art, the more likely it was to be beneficial to man. (The term "demon" is used here mostly in the Greek sense according to which a demon was not *a priori* good or bad.) I see five phases of the development of monsters and demons in Mesopotamia and Iran. The first would have been the formative one, when the features of several animals were melded in powerful composite beings in the Late Ubaid and in the Uruk period, roughly in the late fifth to fourth millennium B.C. I see the next important phase in the Agade period (2340–2150 B.C.) when nefarious monsters were being apprehended and punished in narrative cylinder seal designs. One might be tempted to associate this basically optimistic attitude, that misdeeds are punished, with the general sense of security which the victories of Sargon and Rimush must have created in the population of Mesopotamia.

The third phase can be observed in cylinder seals of the Old Babylonian period, where beneficial images often balance adverse ones. For example, Šamaš, the sun god, friendly to man, appears in the same scene with Nergal god of pestilence and death.

In the fourth phase, which comprises the seal designs of the Mitannian, Kassite and middle Assyrian styles, c. 14th to 11th centuries B.C., occurred a transformation of the man-centered repertory of the Old Babylonian period to a proliferation of animal-headed demons. Doubtless this iconographical change was brought about by changed ideas about the surrounding world. The last phase, the Neo Babylonian, has produced images of the demons Lamashtu and Pazuzu with individual horrifying forms. Probably the persons who created such forms felt sufficiently secure to render the monstrous creatures in all their horror without being prevented from portraying such dangerous demons by the fear that they would avenge themselves in some manner.

In Egypt, the animals greatly feared were the most dangerous inhabitants of the Nile valley, the hippopotamus, the crocodile and the serpents. While the serpents are chiefly represented by the cobra, which occurs alone, for example as the terrifying uraeus on the headgear of the king, hippopotamus and crocodile are often combined as in the form of the fearsome "*Devourer*," whose head shows monstrous hippopotamus forms and crocodile teeth.

In the third area covered here, the Mediterranean, nature shows itself in its most terrifying form in the sea, hence the sea monster, the *ketos*, is the region's most characteristic composite creature.

It is important to realize that the character of a composite creature did not remain any more constant than that of any other figure. The lack of uniformity in the representation of a given set of figures, even such supposedly static types as those of Medieval iconography, is evident in William Voelke's article, "Morgan Manuscript M. 1001: The Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Evil Ones." One must, therefore, be aware of a certain fluidity in the meaning of images in narrative representation, whether they be ancient or of more recent date. One should also not expect a precise correspondence of text and pictures unless, as in some Greek representations, the figures were labeled by the artists who created them.

Ancient Near Eastern images especially appear to have changed their meaning depending on the context of the accompanying figures with which they were portrayed. For example in works of art of Iran and Bactria, serpents are not always to be interpreted as ominous, since the undulating body of the serpent was equated with the courses of life-giving water. Serpents, therefore, appear in a double role symbolizing both death and life, a role which made a horned, lion-headed serpent an appropriate emblem for the chief god of Iran in the second millennium B.C. In view of the lack of textual evidence such observations can only be based on the pictorial remains so far discovered. These are often very ambiguous. For example, creatures which have bared sharp teeth or beaks and claws and therefore appear as attackers, can also function as defenders. Thus the role of the composite creature is not absolutely defined by its features, as it is in modern iconography. For example an attacking viper in a political cartoon is obviously an opponent, whereas in an ancient Near Eastern representation the meaning is more likely to depend on the context of the scene formed by the accompanying figures.

For the fearsome composite creatures of Greek art, we can use the description provided by Peter von Blanckenhagen in his present essay "Easy Monsters": "Monsters, mortal as well as immortal ones may be divided into individual, unique, solitary creatures and tribes in which the individual is but a member of his group. The first are those which, if mortal, are eventually killed by heroes. They exist, as it were, in order to offer potential heroes the occasion to prove their heroic mettle." As mentioned above, Greek monsters are often located in the sea and have features derived from fish and reptiles.

The origin and development of these creatures in their various homelands requires special studies. In Greek, Roman, and even in Egyptian art, such studies are much farther advanced than in the art of the ancient Near East where serious iconographical studies are still in an initial stage with new material being constantly added as a result of excavations. Thus the seal impressions published in the essay by Donald Hansen were found in his excavations at the ancient site of Lagash and present a new addition to the style and iconography of cylinder seals of the third millennium in Mesopotamia.

The study of the monsters and demons of a given culture obviously provides insights into the pictorial imagination of the people, their mode of thought and also into some of their religious beliefs. Nevertheless, these agents of supernatural powers in Near Eastern, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman antiquity do not seem to have been singled out before as the focus for a study by scholars in various fields. A symposium devoted to this subject not only provides new knowledge about various demons and monsters but also reveals hitherto unknown aspects of the character of the civilizations which brought forth such creatures. Lastly, it is now possible to recognize relationships not previously noted among some of these cultures. At the same time, contrasts between some of the cultures become more obvious than they had been before.

Thus from the article by Erica Reiner emerges something of the sense of terror felt by the Babylonians for evil demons who were "like clouds, now amassing, now dissolving." Hence, demons were only rarely given a recognizable form before the Old Babylonian period of the early second millennium B.C. and the terrifying demon Lamashtu, the demon of puerperal fever and babies' illnesses was represented frequently only in the last phase of the Assyro-Babylonian era, which also created the Pazuzu image of "the Exorcist."

Egypt had few images of fear inspiring demons and even they were often given the exquisite execution which marks Egyptian art. Egyptians seem to have had a preference for the serene beauty of natural forms as against the aberrations of nature, as recognized by the second-century Greek satyrist, Lucian, quoted by Henry Fischer in the essay on "The Ancient Egyptian Attitude Towards the Monstrous."

There are the various Bes types and the female demon who attacks a foreign foe in Henry Fischer's Fig. 14. He tells us that "elsewhere called *Ipy*, and later known as *T3-wrt* (Greek Tueris), she has the head of a hippopotamus, the feet of a lion, and carries a crocodile along her back; more usually the crocodile is more completely fused into the back of this creature, which must surely rate as the most successful of indigenous Egyptian monsters from every point of view." The most usual representations of the monsters are found on scarabs and other trinkets and it is probably through such representations that the creature became widely known outside Egypt as an effective protector. But the function of the figure changed from a more elevated divine status in Egypt, where she appears, for example "standing guard at the birth of Queen Hatshepsut and King Amenophis III, as represented on the walls of their temples at Deir el Bahri and Luxor," (cited by Henry Fischer), to a cult servant in scenes of libation in which the hippopotamus demon was transformed into the Minoan genius, discussed by Machteld Mellink in "Anatolian Libation Pourers and the Minoan Genius."

In tracing the way in which the Minoan Genius takes over the cultic functions of a bird-headed demon, previously performed by a monkey, Machteld Mellink draws attention to the thought process by which animals take over the role of human beings. They represent the best of both worlds, adding animal potency to the action they are performing, while they ward off the evil from the human being they stand in for. Demons and monsters they are in

the sense that they are animals performing unnatural or supranatural roles; they may be shown as hybrids, but this is not essential.

This evaluation of the ancient fluid view of natural animals and imaginary monsters, in which a contrast is implied with our definitions based on the creatures' features rather than on their actions, provides an important insight into the problems posed by the theme of this volume.

Moving from a world in which demons and monsters were considered to have a potency for influencing man and nature to the *ketos* of Classical Greek art means a change to a primary focus on literature and considerations of style. The importance of the *ketos* resides in the influence which its image had in later art after it had survived for almost a thousand years in Greek and Roman art, as we learn from John Boardman to whom we owe the extensive survey of this monster. It served as the prototype for dragons of medieval art and its main features such as the reptilian body, the large toothy mouth and prominent forefeet still belong to modern stage dragons which designers change at their peril.

A more precise description by John Boardman, excerpted from his article "‘Very Like a Whale’ = Classical Sea Monsters," follows. "Its tail is fishy, either a dolphin-like crescent, or fuller and fish-like. Its body is serpentine and often scaly with a cushioned underpart, but it may sometimes be given a deeper chest and belly before its long writhing tail. It sometimes has two forelegs like a lion, but these may also take the form of flippers, or it may borrow horse-legs from its cousin the hippocamp. It may have small fins along its body, and often has a spiny back crest. The neck may carry a ruff of spines or angular plates like gills. The ears are usually long and pointed, the forehead lours. The muzzle takes different forms in different periods like a lion, a dog, a fish, a pig, but a common feature is the furrowed snout, often upturned nose and wicked teeth . . ." As pointed out by Boardman, the forepart of the *ketos* "bears a certain resemblance to the Babylonian dragon but the Greek beast comes to look like it rather than starts looking like it." Nevertheless, the furrowed snout and upturned nose (or upper lip) resemble the snout of the god Marduk's snake dragon from the Ishtar Gate at Babylon (built by Nebuchadnezzar II 605–562 B.C.) so closely that it is difficult not to assume that Greek artists were taken with this version of the monster's head. The Babylonian type had certainly survived long on well executed stamp seals which could have served for the elaboration of the *ketos*' head, which Boardman ascribes to Egyptian crocodile representations. Of course, one or the other of these foreign images may have inspired a Greek artist to render his monster more convincing. But a serpent head with furrowed nose and upturned lip was known in the art of Iran long before it was incorporated in Marduk's Babylonian dragon on boundary stones of the 14th to 13th century B.C. It therefore seems to have been thought of as especially characteristic of dangerous reptiles. It is also of interest to observe the way in which the features of a creature have been enhanced by traits adopted from beings conceived in another region for a different purpose.

Boardman's presentation of the *ketos* in different contexts provides a fairly definite idea of the meaning of that type of monster. The fact that its name was written above the figure in one of the examples cited, characterizes most strikingly the intention of the Greek artist to have the monster known to its viewer. This is in contrast to the approach by makers of ancient Near Eastern works of art with a mythological content, where no effort is made to elucidate their meaning by providing an accompanying text. For example, the essay by Donald Hansen, "The Fantastic World of Sumerian Art," shows the elements of conflict to be the basic motif of Mesopotamian art in the third millennium B.C., pitting heroes and

demons against animals and monsters and each other. But neither the names of the protagonists nor the basic meaning of the conflicts are made known.

Yet, some knowledge concerning the meaning of the pictorial repertory in later Mesopotamian art has been gained from recent works in which protective divine or monstrous figures, mentioned in ritual texts, were identified with those of Assyrian and Babylonian representations dating from the later second and earlier first millennium B.C. There are no detailed descriptions, however, of the physical characteristics of evil demons to be found in the texts. Erica Reiner ascribes this to reticence on the part of the ancient writers in her discussion of "Magic Figurines, Amulets, and Talismans." She adds that much can be gained from literary narratives for the interpretation of pictorial matter, but that the reverse is not true. In other words, a collection of representations of a given Near Eastern motif comparable to the illustrations of the *ketos*, presented by Boardman, is unlikely to yield a valid reconstruction of the mythological content of the motif, whereas a relevant text might greatly help in the interpretation of that motif.

This is exemplified in Wilfred G. Lambert's essay "Gilgamesh in Literature and Art," which centers on the death of the monstrous Humbaba as an ugly creature, well deserving of the deadly thrusts with various weapons administered by Gilgamesh and his friend and helper Enkidu. However, these representations do not reveal that Humbaba acted as the loyal servant of the great god Enlil who had appointed him as watchman over the cedar forest, a task which he faithfully fulfilled until death, as noted by Erica Reiner.

In contrast to representations with mythological or religious content from Mesopotamia, Egyptian ones showing the "Passage of the Deceased into the Western World," the "Journey to the Netherworld" and the "Coming forth from the Western Horizon" are fully explained in writing, and there is a purposeful relation between text and picture. Here a monster such as the "Devourer" plays a primary role, not as a creature to be killed or driven out, but as an adjunct of the gods in punishing sinful humans, a role which may have a distant echo in representations of the "Hell-Mouth" of early medieval iconography—as suggested by William Voelkle. Yet in some instances as at St. Croix, the form of the Hell Mouth may have been influenced by the jaws of John Boardman's *ketos* perhaps copied from some Early Christian sarcophagi where the *ketos* had served as the prototype of the whale in whose body Jonah was said to have spent three days.

In contrast to the ponderous seriousness of the earlier representations of demons and monsters, the sophisticated atmosphere of Late Hellenistic and Roman art is created by the illustrations of Peter von Blanckenhagen's "Easy Monsters." The subtle indication of their content has been described by Evelyn Harrison with the words, "Whereas many writers, artists and scholars have looked beneath the surface of human life to find the monsters that are there, it is Peter von Blanckenhagen who looks beneath the surface of the monsters to find us."

In the last essay, William Voelkle draws attention to the difference between ancient and Near Eastern demons. The latter were out to harm man bodily, whereas the Christian concept is one in which the demons try to corrupt a man morally. The most powerful of the latter is, of course, Satan, whose horned head and ungulate legs are reminiscent of ancient Near Eastern horned demons and bull-men and the Greek god Pan as well as of Greek satyrs. Satan's universal character, however, is less comparable to the minor demonic figures of Babylonia than to the god-like evil demons of the Zarathustrian religion of Iran, whose principal tenets are so lucidly presented here by Dale Bishop in his essay "When Gods Become Demons."

The differences in the appearance and meaning of demons and monsters in the various regions of the ancient world, reflections of which are preserved in early medieval art, fade in relation to one group of images, the pictures of zodiacal constellations. By the fifth century B.C. these constellations had been generally accepted. While their representations followed the stylistic variations of Western and Islamic art, their basic forms remained the same, primarily derived from Mesopotamian prototypes (whereas the creatures representing the hours of the night, the Decans, were derived from Egyptian models). Even Sagittarius, the centaur, an eminently Greek creature, as shown by Peter von Blanckenhagen, had a precursor in Babylonia in the fourteenth century B.C.

Much still remains to be learned about the beings which we call monsters and demons through which the ancients personified their fears and their superhuman protectors. The present collection of essays should stimulate further search for insights into this fascinating field.

Edith Porada

EDITH PORADA — PUBLICATIONS

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The Ancient Egyptian Attitude Towards the Monstrous*

Henry G. Fischer

Rabelais, in the preface of the third book of *Pantagruel*, recalls a tale from his classical reading, concerning the first of the Ptolemies, who attempted to enhance his popularity and renown among the Egyptians by displaying, amidst the booty of his conquests, a double-humped Bactrian camel and a slave, one side of whom was black, the other white, divided down the middle. To his dismay, these curiosities were rejected as abominations. And he was forced to conclude that the Egyptians were more pleased by things beautiful, elegant and perfect, than those that were ridiculous and monstrous ("Et entendit plus à plaisir et délices leurs estre choses belles, élégantes et parfaites, que ridicules et monstrueuses"). Rabelais' source was Lucian, the author of *A True History*, which provided the inspiration for his own voyage of *Pantagruel*.¹ Both writers were themselves great monsterers, as Shakespeare would say, great exaggerators, and their observation concerning the taste of the ancient Egyptians is all the more striking for that reason. Whether under the influence of Plato,² or from personal observation (for he spent the later part of his life as an official in Egypt), Lucian doubtless felt there was some truth in it, as indeed there is.

Of course the truth of it, like so many truths, is not so simple. It seems paradoxical to deny a predilection for the monstrous to a people who worshiped a menagerie of animal-headed gods that would put Comus to shame. But this seemingly monstrous aspect of ancient Egypt is in fact more apparent than real. The animal-headed gods are hieroglyphic composites, products of a style of representation that was hieroglyphic from its inception, at the beginning of the Dynastic Period. That fact, and the elegance of the hieroglyphic style, are proof against their being monstrous, as one can readily appreciate if one compares the Egyptian rendering of such a composite with the more literal, and truly monstrous reinterpretations of the Graeco-Roman Period.³

* The abbreviations for periodicals, series, etc., follow those given in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie (LA)*, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto, I (Wiesbaden 1975), pp. x ff

1 François Rabelais, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Guy Demerson (Paris 1973), 368; Lucian, *Works*, The Loeb Classical Library, vol. VI (Cambridge

and London 1959), 423–425.

2 For Plato's admiration of Egyptian art see Whitney Davis, *JEA* 65 (1979), 123–127.

3 E.g. Giuseppe Botti and Pietro Romanelli, *Le Sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio* (Vatican City 1951), pl. 80 (nos. 188, 189).

Furthermore there is a hieroglyphic logic in such creations, as may be seen if we compare them to the human-headed animals that embody the might and majesty of the king.⁴ The head is consistently the original and essential element, the body the secondary manifestation. In the case of the king this logic is most commonly displayed in the sphinx, but there are other possibilities, notably a human-headed snake⁵ or falcon,⁶ representing the king as the royal uraeus or as Horus. It is true that in these various avatars of the king the animal or human aspect may be carried out a little further, in one direction or the other, than is done in the case of the animal-headed gods. In the sphinx the royal head cloth may be replaced by a mane and leonine ears;⁷ or, conversely, the forelegs may become human arms, the better to present an offering to the gods.⁸ The king as a falcon is apt to wear his avian plumage almost like a cloak (Plate I, fig. 1).⁹ In other words there is a suggestion of shape-shifting, of metamorphosis, that is appropriate to the king who is, uniquely, the link between mankind and the gods, and stands constantly on the threshold of these two worlds.

The same logic may be applied to the *ba* or soul, which is often depicted in New Kingdom funerary texts as a bird with human head;¹⁰ by this time, through identification with the dead king Osiris, a commoner could effect various transformations just as he could, while the head retained its original appearance. A more curious example of the same period is the criosphinx, many examples of which, dating to Ramesses II, flank the approach to the

4 Cf. my remarks in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur* (Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto) (Wiesbaden 1977), 157–158. I am not sure that Kákosy's examples of human-headed crocodiles, late as they are, constitute an exception (ZÄS 89 [1963], 66–74), for they represent the originally human Osiris, who has taken the form of that animal.

5 For a Middle Kingdom ex., see Cairo JE 42906: Guy Brunton, *ASAE* 39 (1939), 177–181 and pl. 24. A similar case, less securely dated, is in the Coptic Museum, Cairo: Labib Habachi, *GM* 26 (1977), 29–36. A third parallel, dating to the New Kingdom, is in Boston, MFA 1979.209: Wm. K. Simpson, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 433–434 and pl. 66 (a). Cf. also a fragment in Baltimore: G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore 1946), no. 143, pl. 23; it is thought to date to the Late Period.

6 Paule Kriéger[-Posener] has collected the known examples of statuary, all dating to the New Kingdom: *RdE* 12 (1960), 37–58. Cf. also a Late Period stela, Copenhagen AE.I.N. 65: Maria Mogensen, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, La Collection égyptienne* (Copenhagen 1930), pl. 112, where a human-headed falcon, wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, tramples the Nubian foe. The Dyn. XXI statue of a god with falcon head and human body, Brussels E 5188 (J. Capart, *Do-*

cuments pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien I [Paris 1927], pls. 99–100) is probably influenced by the royal model, so far as the treatment of the body is concerned. See also Plate I, fig. 1 and n. 9 below.

7 For the examples from Tanis see Hans Gerhard Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* (Munich 1929) pls. 120–125. One from Bubastis is published by L. Habachi, *SÄK* 6 (1978), 79–92 and pls. 23, 25; he also illustrates BM 58892 (pl. 26). Another example in London, BM 1770, dates to Dyn. XXV: Steffen Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity* II (Brooklyn 1978), 50, 168.

8 All New Kingdom or later: J.D.S. Pendlebury et al., *The City of Akhenaten* III (London 1951), pl. 68 (3–4 [reliefs]); Cairo CG 42033, 42146, 42201, MMA 1972.125: T.P.F. Hoving, *BMMA* 31 (1973), frontispiece facing p. 121; Wenig, *op. cit.*, no. 86, p. 175.

9 This example is taken from one of the blocks of Tuthmosis IV which were used as filling in the third pylon of the Karnak temple: Bernadette Letellier, *BSFE* 84 (March 1979), 39, fig. 4.

10 For the concept of the *Ba* see Louis Zabar, *LA* I, 588–590, and for its iconography, Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, *Revue du Louvre* 31 (1982), 188–198. In my oral presentation I used an example from the Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum.

Temple of Karnak.¹¹ The ram's head and lion's body represent the god Amun in the leonine form adopted by the king, identifying the former as "Amun, king of the gods."

Apart from this very logical category, Egyptian iconography is not totally devoid of some creatures that can truly be called monstrous. Among the earliest examples is a predynastic cosmetic palette (Naqada II) that apparently represents a two-headed turtle, a phenomenon that is well-known at this level of the animal kingdom (Plate I, fig. 2).¹² It seems much more doubtful that the double-bull motif (Plate I, fig. 3),¹³ which appears on a protodynastic palette, can be classed as monstrous, since, along with a double lion (Plate I, fig. 4)¹⁴ it served as the ideographic component of the verb *hns*, meaning "move back and forth."¹⁵ Unusual as it is, it may well be a purely hieroglyphic creation. A more obvious case is the human-faced fetish with bovine ears and horns. Her image appears repeatedly on the Narmer palette (Plate II, fig. 5)¹⁶ and on other objects of the Archaic Period, such as a small limestone carrying chair, labelled "she of the carrying chair."¹⁷ It seems probable that she was already known as Bat (*B3t*) at this period;¹⁸ shortly before the beginning of the Middle Kingdom she became permanently identified with Hathor.¹⁹ Possibly this fetish was inspired by Mesopotamian iconography, as I have suggested elsewhere.²⁰ That conclusion can in any case be applied to the serpo-feline that appears on some of the protodynastic palettes, and most conspicuously, like the Bat-fetish, on the palette of Narmer. The Mesopotamian origin was recognized as long ago as 1899 by L. Heuzey and again, quite independently, by Weigall and Newberry in 1910, who recognized its resemblance to a seal of the Jemdet Nasr Period.²¹

11 To the references in *PM* II², p. 22, add K. Michalowski, *L'Art de l'ancienne Egypte* (Paris 1968), pl. 128.

12 MMA 10.176.78: Hayes, *Scepter* I, p. 24, fig. 17, H.G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles* (New York 1968), no. 17, p. 24. Mr. M.F. Trenbeth, executive editor of the *International Turtle and Tortoise Society Journal*, has kindly provided me with the Jan.-Feb. 1967 issue of his periodical, with an article on two-headed turtles by Herbert Clement, pp. 4-5.

13 From the so-called Hunters' Palette, on one of the two fragments in the British Museum. W.M.F. Petrie, *Ceremonial Slate Palettes* (London 1953), pl. A.

14 Examples on archaic seals: P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* III (Wiesbaden 1963), figs. 56, 531. Fig. 57 also shows a composite animal, one end of which is a lion, the other a gazelle.

15 Gardiner, *JEA* 41 (1955), 13 and n. 5.

16 Drawing of obverse by Quibell, *ZAS* 36 (1898), 81-84 and pl. 12; photograph in Petrie, *Ceremonial Slate Palettes*, pl. K.

17 Ward, *SAK* 5 (1977), 267; the figurine is also illustrated in *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 5 (1972), 14, fig. 20.

18 Fischer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 11.

19 *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14; the first link with Hathor's sistrum that is attested thus far is slightly earlier than the reunification of Egypt in the later years of Dyn. XI, as noted in *LA* II, p. 631 and n. 4.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 630. Human-faced, bearded bulls are known from Tello (André Vigneau, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art: Le Musée du Louvre* [Paris 1935], pl. 187 [F], 218) and Ur (C.L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations II: The Royal Cemetery* [Oxford 1934], pls. 121 [not bearded?], 182, 183). Donald Hansen has kindly supplied some earlier references, going back to Early Dynastic I (Pierre Amiet, *La Glyptique Mésopotamienne archaïque* [Paris 1980], no. 748, and a sculpture in the round dating to the same period: Winfried Orthmann et al., *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte: Der alte Orient*, pl. 16). But he knows of no human-bovine combinations from Mesopotamia that are as early as the late Naqada II period in Egypt.

21 L. Heuzey, *CRAIBL* 27 (1899), 66; A.E.P. Weigall, citing Newberry, *ASAE* 11 (1910), 170-171. The seal is also illustrated by Henry Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London 1939), pl. 5 (h), and *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East I: Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt and their Earliest Interrelations* (London 1924), pl. 11, fig. 3.

In the case of the Narmer palette, and an ivory carving from Hierakonpolis, this origin is reinforced by the addition of human figures who control or "dompt" the animals.²² For unknown reasons, the motif of a dompted pair of serpo-felines became the emblem of Cusae, a town in Middle Egypt, and is frequently attested as such in the Old and Middle Kingdom tombs at Meir.²³ From the Old Kingdom onward the monsters were assimilated to Egyptian style to the extent that the heads turn outwards,²⁴ and from the Middle Kingdom onward they were sometimes simplified into a pair of lion-headed serpents.²⁵ In the New Kingdom they might be simplified further into a pair of ordinary serpents, or might take the more reassuring form of a pair of giraffes.²⁶ Meanwhile, the original form of the animal was introduced into desert scenes at Beni Hasan.²⁷ This was the domain of the typhonic god Seth (or Sutekh) who may himself have been a monstrous composite of at least two animals,²⁸ one perhaps a wild boar, as Newberry has proposed to regard the entire animal;²⁹ that seems true of the head, while the body, as represented at the beginning of the Old Kingdom, seems to be canine (Plate II, fig. 6).³⁰ The desert was thus the natural habitat of monsters, if the term "natural" may be applied to the habitat of such creatures. The most complete display of them, in Beni Hasan tomb 15 (Plate II, fig. 7)³¹ shows a procession of four—Seth, the griffin, the serpo-feline and the elephant, which had long since disappeared from Egypt, and had acquired a fabulous aspect, reminiscent of a rhinoceros. Only when it was rediscovered during the Syrian campaigns of Tuthmosis III did it resume its normal appearance.³² This association with the desert does not seem to have been continued in the iconography of the late Twelfth Dynasty or after, although it probably persisted as a superstition.

One other member of the procession—the griffin—was depicted in a desert setting as early as the Old Kingdom, on a fragment of relief from the sun-temple of Neuserre.³³ This

22 Besides the Narmer palette see also J.E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I* (London 1900), pl. 16 (2).

23 Old Kingdom: A.M. Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir IV* (London 1924), pls. 4, 4 A, 6, 11; J. Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III, pl. 21. Middle Kingdom: Blackman, *op. cit.* II (1915), pl.

24 Fischer, *MMJ* 6 (1972), 11. [17.

25 Blackman, *op. cit.* II, pl. 17.

26 Pair of serpents: *Urk.* IV, 386 (4); Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms géographiques V* (Cairo 1928), 164–165, 176, 179. Pair of giraffes: *ibid.*, pp. 164–165; Norman Davies, *The Tomb of Kenamun* (New York 1930), pl. 44; Northampton, Spiegelberg, Newberry, *Theban Necropolis* (London 1908), pl. 34 (line 2).

27 P. Newberry, *Beni Hasan II* (London 1893), pls. 4, 13.

28 H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*² (Leiden 1977), 13–16; cf. Arthur Weigall, *A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt* (New York and London 1910), 55.

29 *JEA* 14 (1928), 211–225.

30 Margaret Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I* (London 1905), pl. 38 (24). Cf. also L. Borchardt,

Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa3hu-Re II (Leipzig 1913), pl. 48; Wm.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Kbafkbfu I and II* (Boston 1978), fig. 26.

31 See the first reference in n. 27 above. The tail of the elephant is much longer in Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie IV* (Paris 1845), pl. 382. Other monsters are depicted in P. Newberry, *El Bersheb II* (London 1895), pl. 16 (two registers of fanciful animals, with a griffin followed by a deer). Also note the isolated griffin in Newberry, *Beni Hasan I* (London 1893), pl. 30, more clearly drawn by Norman Davies, *BMMA*, April 1933, Pt. II, p. 27, fig. 7; it has the form of a falcon-headed cheetah, surmounted by a pair of wings with a human head between them—a motif that reappears on the magical knives (n. 49 below).

32 *Urk.* IV, 893(14)–894(2), translated by John Wilson, *ANET*, p. 241; *Urk.* IV, 1233(13)–1234(4), translated by Wilson, *ANET*, p. 240.

33 Elmar Edel and Steffen Wenig, *Die Jahreszeitenreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Ne-user-re* (Berlin 1974), pl. 1.

creature, which combines a falcon's head and wings with a lion's body, also made its debut at the beginning of the Protodynastic Period (Plate II, fig. 8),³⁴ as another import from the East,³⁵ and survived down to Graeco-Roman times.³⁶ It was readily assimilated in Egypt as a manifestation of two aspects of royal power, and the king assumed this form to trample the enemy, sometimes retaining his own head in sphinxlike fashion. The motif is well attested from the Old,³⁷ Middle³⁸ and New Kingdom (Plate III, fig. 9),³⁹ and thus if not altogether monstrous from the Egyptian point of view, is certainly a terrifying creation. It is therefore most curious that it appears, with falcon head, as a domesticated animal in one of the early Middle Kingdom tombs at Beni Hasan, in the proximity of the tomb owner, and wearing a dog collar (Plate III, fig. 10).⁴⁰ It is true that the animal's wings are not deployed, that it is a female, and that the griffin is masculine *srf* in the desert scenes, while here it is labelled "*s3gt* is her name."⁴¹ At Bersha this same *s3gt*, with a pair of pointed ears or horns, follows a troop of pet monkeys and baboons.⁴²

There are other indications that monsters took a new lease on life in the Middle Kingdom, presumably because freer expression was given to popular superstition than had been the case in the Old Kingdom, and particularly at the Old Kingdom cemeteries of Memphis, where even amulets have rarely been found.⁴³ In addition to the Middle Kingdom tombs at Bersha and Beni Hasan that show the typhonic desert animals, there are, from the same period, all sorts of magical devices on which apotropaic animals are represented, some of them monstrous while others are not. Thus an infant's feeding cup, from the town of Lisht (Plate III, fig. 11),⁴⁴ an ancestor of the modern nursing bottle, shows a procession of animals and mercenary demons, recruited to ward off other demons as well as illness and accident. These mercenaries include a water turtle, lion, a snake (perhaps pursued by the lion), our old friend the serpo-feline, a rampant lion devouring a snake, and a lion-man who, at

34 Ashmolean Museum E3924: Quibell, *Hierakonpolis II* (London 1902), pl. 28; Petrie, *Ceremonial Palettes*, pl. F. The drawing is from *A General Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum* (London 1930), 23.

35 Edith Porada cites P. Amiet for the specifically Susian character of the griffin with horizontal wings, *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, ed. Robert W. Ehrich (Chicago 1965), 13; see Pierre Amiet, *RA* 51 (1957), 125–127.

36 Serge Sauneron, *BIFAO* 62 (1964), 3–18.

37 L. Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Neuser-re* (Leipzig 1907), pls. 8–12; G. Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III, pls. 15–18.

38 E.g. Cairo CG 52002: J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dabchour 1894* (Vienna 1895), pls. 19, 21; the obverse is well illustrated by Milada Vilímková, *Altägyptische Goldschmiedekunst* (Prague 1969), pl. 9.

39 E.g. (temp. Tuthmosis IV) MMA 30.8.45: Hayes, *Scepter II*, p. 153, fig. 84; (temp. Amenophis III) Norman Davies, *BMMA*, Nov. 1929, Pt. II,

p. 39, fig. 3. The detail that I interpreted as conventionalized wings is interpreted by Guéraud as a robe, fastened by a belt (*ASAE* 35 [1935], 13–14); if so it nonetheless imitates the wings and tail of the griffin and the belt is lacking in the Middle Kingdom example mentioned in the preceding note. Furthermore the wings of griffins were also sometimes folded; see Plate III, Fig. 10 of the article and the references to Jéquier in n. 37 above.

40 MMA 33.8.14; Norman Davies, *BMMA*, April 1933, Pt. II, p. 26, fig. 5; cf. Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, pl. 16.

41 Karl Richard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Text II (Leipzig 1904), 103. Davies' copy (Plate III, fig. 2 and preceding note) seems to indicate that some further designation intervened between *s3gt* and *m.f.*

42 Newberry, *Bersheh II*, pl. 11.

43 Junker, *Giza VII*, p. 182.

44 MMA 44.4.4; Hayes, *Scepter I*, p. 247; Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles*, p. 33 and pl. 20.

this period was known as *ḥ3* "the fighter" and much later as Bes.⁴⁵ The leonine demon was not necessarily male at this period, as one can see from a more or less contemporary wooden statuette in Manchester, found, together with several other magical items, near the Ramesseum at Thebes (Plate IV, fig. 12).⁴⁶ The face is somewhat grotesque, but the only recognizably leonine element in this case is the ears. Each hand originally held a serpent, and it is clear, throughout the later history of such apotropaic figures, that snakes and scorpions were among the household dangers that required protective measures, both magical and practical—for the cat was evidently first domesticated in the Twelfth Dynasty,⁴⁷ and it too figures in the apotropaic repertory, thus playing a dual role. A second female figurine, found in a house at El Lahun, is even more like its male counterpart, for it has a tail (Plate IV, fig. 13).⁴⁸ Among the most popular Middle Kingdom devices is the so-called magical knife, usually made of hippopotamus ivory and covered with processions similar to the one shown on the nursing cup.⁴⁹ One of these is shared between the Louvre and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Louvre fragment shows, between the serpo-feline and the lion-man, a female demon who attacks the foreign foe.⁵⁰ Elsewhere called *ʿIpy*, and later known as *T3-wrt* (Greek Tueris), she has the head of a hippopotamus, the feet of a lion, and carries a crocodile along her back (Plate IV, fig. 14); more usually the crocodile is more completely fused into the back of this creature, which must surely rate as the most successful of indigenous Egyptian monsters from every point of view. Her popularity in the Middle Kingdom is attested by numerous personal names such as *Z3-ʿIpy* or *Z3t-ʿIpy* "Son (or Daughter) of *ʿIpy*—a common theophoric pattern of the period.⁵¹ There are likewise a few theophoric personal names referring to the leonine *ḥ3*⁵² and both of these demonic divinities are attested to some degree before the end of the Old Kingdom. A grimacing leonine figure, its context completely missing, appears on a fragment from Sahure's funerary temple, dating to the early part of the Fifth Dynasty (Plate IV, fig. 15),⁵³ while the hippopotamus monster is represented by amulets from Upper Egypt, some of which can hardly be later than the dynasty following.⁵⁴ The Sahure figure may represent a masked man, for painted cloth

45 James Romano, "The Origin of the Bes-Image," *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 2 (1980), 39–56.

46 Manchester 1790: J.E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (London 1898), p. 3 and pl. 3 (12).

47 A slightly earlier case has been alleged, but this is certainly Twelfth Dynasty; see Fischer, *MMJ* 13 (1978), 178, n. 32.

48 W.M.F. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* (London 1890), 30 and pl. 8. Yet another example, dated to the Second Intermediate Period, is to be found in W.M.F. Petrie and G. Brunton, *Sedment I* (London 1924), pls. 40, 42.

49 See Hartwig Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittelägyptens: Eine typologische und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der sog. "Zaubermesser" des Mittleren Reiches*, Teile I–II (Munich 1965). Many examples are illustrated by Georg Steindorff, *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 9 (1946), 41–51, 106–107.

50 Louvre E 3614, which completes MMA 26.7.1288a–b; the drawing is from Legge, *PSBA* 27 (May 1905), pl. 6, fig. 8; cf. Altenmüller, *op. cit.* II, no. 127, and for further information on this divinity see Vol. I, 128–152. The crocodile on the back is paralleled by MMA 30.8.218 (Altenmüller's no. 106), which is evidently of elephant ivory and is stylistically rather different from the others. Possibly it is of later date (XVIII Dyn.).

51 *Z3ʿIpy*: Ranke, *PN* I, 280 (19); *Z3t-ʿIpy*. *ibid.*, 285 (20–23).

52 James Romano, *op. cit.*, 49.

53 Leipzig 2095: L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Saḥu-Re* II (Leipzig 1913), pl. 22.

54 The clearest evidence occurs in the tomb group shown by G.A. Reisner, *A Provincial Cemetery of the Pyramid Age: Naga-ed-Dér* III (Oxford 1932), 275 (N. 619) and pl. 40; cf. also p. 280 (N. 714) and pl. 43. Comparable examples are

masks of the leonine demon were found by Petrie in a Middle Kingdom house at El Lahun.⁵⁵

It was only in the New Kingdom, however, that the two monsters really came into their own, and into the open. They now became familiar guardians of the household, figured on chairs, beds and headrests. The Bes-image, as James Romano terms it, referring to the familiar Graeco-Roman name of the leonine demon, is the more popular of the two in this particular context. A chair belonging to the mother of Sennemut, Hatshepsut's architect, shows him in much the same form that he had in the Middle Kingdom.⁵⁶ He later put on weight, his features becoming coarser and more feral, and his expression more frightening, with furrowed brow and extended tongue.⁵⁷ Then he became more animated, dancing and prancing, brandishing knives or striking a tambourine, as shown on a chair of Sit-Amun, daughter of Amenophis III (Plate IV, fig. 16).⁵⁸ Despite his increasing wildness, he is somewhat tamed, however, by the addition of a kilt. The hippopotamus demon is displayed, along with the Bes-image, on the footboard of a bed from the same source,⁵⁹ the tomb of the king's plebeian parents-in-law, Yuya and Tuya. The two demons are associated in other cases too, just as they had been in the Middle Kingdom, and on jewelry as well as furniture.⁶⁰ Together they stand guard at the birth of Queen Hatshepsut and King Amenophis III, as represented on the walls of their temples at Deir el Bahri⁶¹ and Luxor.⁶² By the end of the New Kingdom Tueris, as she was called, "the great one," was worshipped along with the Theban triad.⁶³ The most outstanding testimony of her Theban cult is a schist statue of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, now in the Cairo Museum (Plate V, fig. 17).⁶⁴ Superbly designed and finished with exquisite perfection, it may be called the sublimation, and even the apotheosis, of monstrosity.

By this time, or perhaps a little earlier, the Bes figure had achieved a certain eminence as the crowning element in the decoration of magical stelae, the virtue of which was literally tapped by collecting water that had been poured over them.⁶⁵ These are the stelae featuring

to be found in Guy Brunton's publications: *Qau and Badari I* (London 1927), pl. 48 (21); II (1928), pls. 95–96 (21); *Mostagedda* (London 1937), pl. 56 (21); *Matmar* (London 1948), pl. 31 (37).

55 W.M.F. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, p. 30 and pl. 8. Cf. the use of masklike Anubis caps in Fr. Wm. von Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Kongis Ne-woser-re II* (Leipzig 1923); Beiblatt B, and III (1928), pl. 13.

56 MMA 36.3.152; Hayes, *Scepter II*, p. 201, fig. 115; detail of Bes: N.E. Scott, *BMMA* 24 (1965), 142, fig. 30.

57 James Romano, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–45, where these developments are attributed to the reign of Amenophis II. Some of them are adumbrated by the portly, masked(?) lion-man of Dyn. V shown in Plate IV, Fig. 15.

58 Cairo CG 51113: Theodore Davis et al., *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touyou* (London 1907), 40, fig. 3. For the complete chair see pls. 33–34.

59 Cairo CG 51110: Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 36 and cf. pl. 37.

60 Chairs from same source (Theban royal tomb 46), CG 51111: Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 39, fig. 2 and cf. pls. 33–34; CG 51112: *ibid.*, p. 36 and cf. pl. 35. Jewelry, e.g. MMA 26.8.206; H.E. Winlock, *Treasure of Three Princesses* (New York 1948), 33 and pl. 18 (D). Also exemplified by a wall painting from Amarna published by B.J. Kemp, *JEA* 65 (1979), 48, fig. 1.

61 Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahri* (London 1896), pl. 51.


62 Hellmut Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs* (Wiesbaden 1964), pl. 9.

63 Paul Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-ré à Karnak* (Cairo 1962), 264. There is also a mention of the temple of Tueris in a text dating to Herihor: *PM II*², 232 (23).

64 Cairo CG 39145: *PM II*², p. 286.

65 Keith Seele, "Horus of the Crocodiles," *JNES* 6 (1947), 43–52.

the so-called "Horus of the crocodiles," and the head of Bes surmounts or replaces that of Horus,⁶⁶ while a more complete representation of Bes reappears on the back of one such stela, dating to the Thirtieth Dynasty, in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Plate V, fig. 18).⁶⁷ Here he is given a double pair of wings and the tail of a falcon, assimilating him to Horus, while his head is surmounted by a complex assemblage consisting of the foreparts of various animals. This is a typical example of the so-called pantheistic divinity of the Late Period, representing a syncretistic complex. Another syncretistic formulation of the same period is the sphinxlike Tutu.⁶⁸

The netherworld provided, at all periods, an especially favorable environment for the proliferation of hybrid forms, since it gave unlimited scope to the imagination. This is not so very apparent in the late Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts, although they contain some frightening concepts, such as a curse against anyone who damages or despoils the tomb and will be condemned to eat himself,⁶⁹ or the dismemberment of the followers of Seth.⁷⁰ There are also many spells against snakes, crocodiles, centipedes and other dangers, but the assistance of monsters is not invoked.⁷¹ László Kákósy, in his article "Mischgestalt", in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*,⁷² has collected three cases from the same source where the king, who has the power to become any one of various animals, including a crocodile (Sobk)⁷³ and snake,⁷⁴ also assumes hybrid forms—a falcon-backed jackal,⁷⁵ or a snake with the face of a jackal, and the hind-parts of a broad hall. Faulkner explains this as meaning "pointed of face, slim of body and broad of hindquarters,"⁷⁶ but one can easily imagine a hieroglyphic combination in which a jackal-headed snake terminates in the sign for "broad hall" ().⁷⁷ The Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts mention other highly improbable com-

posites, and Kákósy notes a description in the New Kingdom Book of the Dead, of a double-headed Horus, one of which possesses (*hr*) Truth, the other Wickedness, and they pass sentence on the just and unjust, respectively.⁷⁸ The two heads are probably to be visualized as those of a falcon and the Seth-animal, which are actually attested on two-headed divinities.⁷⁹ In this period the Netherworld is vividly illustrated, both in the Book of the Dead and on the walls of the royal tombs. In most cases the monsters are allies of the deceased, but there is a notable exception—the "Devourer" or "Devourer of the Dead," which waits for his prey in the event that Anubis should condemn the man he judges when he weighs his heart against the feather, emblematic of Righteousness.⁸⁰ Sometimes male, sometimes

66 MMA 50 85: the front is illustrated by N.E. Scott, *BMA* 9 (1951), 202, 206.

67 For the back see *ibid.*, p. 208.

68 Sauneron, *JNES* 19 (1960), 265–287; see also Kákósy, *LA* IV, p. 148, n. 25.

69 Pyr. 1279 c.

70 Pyr. 1286

71 E.g. Pyr. 225–249, 662–694.

72 Vol. IV, p. 146

73 Pyr. 507 a.

74 Pyr. 511 a.

75 Pyr. 865 b.

76 Pyr. 1749 a; Raymond Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford 1969), 257.

77 A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³ (London 1957); p. 494: Sign List O 13 or O 15.

78 Referring to *Urk.* V, p. 57.

79 Paul Bucher, *Les Textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis III*, I (Cairo 1932), pl. 15, bottom left (tomb of Tuthmosis III); Felix Guilman, *Le tombeau de Ramesès IX* (Cairo 1907), pl. 65.

80 See Christine Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten* (Berlin 1976), 163 ff. The illustration for my oral presentation was again taken from the papyrus of Ani in the British Museum.

female,⁸¹ this beast has the head of a crocodile, the body of a lion and the hindquarters of a hippopotamus.

Although the underworld scenes in the royal tombs at first give an impression of tumultuous monstrosity, the repertory of the New Kingdom is rather limited. There are a number of snakes, some with three heads, two pairs of feet and a pair of wings, any of these may be called Nehebkau,⁸² and this application of the appellation suits Gardiner's translation of it as "combiner of various attributes,"⁸³ although it might better be rendered "combiner of powers." There are human beings with two heads, or no arms, or both these features.⁸⁴ Altogether typical of the period following the New Kingdom (Dyn. XXI) are two representations of Isis and Nephthys as winged cobras, the first with the head of a lion, the second with the head of a vulture, behind them is a featherheaded being of indeterminate sex, who grasps a snake and lizard.⁸⁵ Amulets of the same period, and later show a wingless version of the lion-headed cobra,⁸⁶ and a variation of Nehebkau with human arms and legs.⁸⁷ As for the featherheaded creature, it recalls other bizarre combinations of the New Kingdom proper. From the Eighteenth Dynasty we have a pair of guardian spirits, both in the British Museum, with their heads replaced by the entire body of a turtle;⁸⁸ these were doubtless intended to be frightening, but the same cannot be said of the god Khepri, as shown in the Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Nefertari, wife of Ramesses II.⁸⁹ Here the monstrous substitution of the face by an entire beetle is—one suspects—at variance with the older standards of propriety.

Some of my examples from the tomb of Tuthmosis III come from the tabulations of divinities who preside over the 12 hours of the night. The New Kingdom constellations also include a hippopotamus-goddess resembling Tueris,⁹⁰ and those of the Graeco-Roman period, while they adopt some foreign elements, show a larger number of monstrosities from pharaonic times, as may be seen from the zodiac of a tomb at Athribis.⁹¹ Here we see falcon-headed snakes and a human figure with a quadruple ram's head.

81 Wb I, 184(9) *ḥm mwt* "devourer [m.] of the dead"; 186(17) *ḥmmjt* (f.).

82 E.g. Bucher, *op. cit.*, pl. 17, top (Tuthmosis III); Alexander Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (New York 1954), pls. 81, 82. Other designations are used as well, in the example from the tomb of Tuthmosis III a winged snake is called "The Great God," a triple-headed snake is "The Shaker" (*mmmw*), and a snake with a human head on its tail is called Hekenut. For the last cf. Piankoff, *loc. cit.*

83 Gardiner, *JEA* 36 (1950), 7, n. 2.

84 E.g. Piankoff, *op. cit.*, pl. 93, where two of the armless persons are described as "He who doesn't have arms" (*mn ḥwy.f*) or "He whose arms are in his body," while a bicephalous individual is called "Two-heads."

85 Alexander Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri II* (New York 1957), no. 13.

86 MMA 17.194.2512: Christian Froehner, *Collection Julien Gréau* (Paris 1903), pl. 25. This

motif appears in the tomb of Ramesses IX, flanking the cartouches of the king: Félix Guilmant, *op. cit.*, pls. 11–20.

87 E.g. MMA 89.2.540; cf. Petrie, *Amulets* (London 1914), pl. 43 (254); Petrie et al., *Labun II* (London 1923), pl. 68 (32–34). Guy Brunton, *Matmar* (London 1948), 68–82 and pl. 60 (13).

88 BM 50704, 61416: Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles* (New York 1968), 11, n. 28 and pl. 3.

89 Gertrud Thausing and Hans Goedicke, *Nofretari* (Graz 1971), pl. 134. For an earlier example (Tuthmosis IV) see Mohamed Aly et al., *Le Temple d'Amada IV* (Cairo 1967), pl. E 1–6.

90 E.g. Charles Wilkinson, *BMAA* 36/4 (Spring 1979), fig. 27; Oriental Institute, *Medinet Habu VI* (Chicago 1963), pl. 478; Alexander Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 164–168.

91 Petrie, *Athribis* (London 1908), pl. 38.

Having passed mythological and magical monsters in rapid review, I shall now guide my remarks back to their point of departure by taking up the Egyptians' attitude to natural deviations from the norm, or from their ideal of what the norm should be.

In representing themselves, on the ordinary level of human existence, the Egyptians did indeed tend to keep to idealized and pleasing forms. From the Old Kingdom onward representations of women nearly always conformed to a slim and youthful ideal, and the same is true of men for the most part, although they, unlike women, sometimes adopted a more elderly model; the deceased was often represented as a portly and balding bureaucrat in the Old Kingdom,⁹² and to a lesser extent in the Middle Kingdom⁹³ and New Kingdom,⁹⁴ and again in the Late Period, when ancient iconography was revived.⁹⁵ From the Middle Kingdom onward his features might also show the stigmata of age. A greater degree of naturalism was sometimes applied to the lower classes, on the one hand—servants, peasants and the like⁹⁶—and, on the other hand, to the king, who stood at the summit of society, and whose features were reflected, to a greater or lesser degree, in those of his contemporaries. Thus the haggard face of Sesostri III produced a multitude of furrowed brows,⁹⁷ and the strangely epicene physique of Amenophis IV (Akhenaten) affected the representations of his courtiers and all their retinue. In this case even architecture seems to have been affected, the columns becoming squat and bulgy.⁹⁸ Some of the representations of Akhenaten verge on the monstrous, and may well have been considered so by those who resented his campaign against the god Amun.

On the level of servants, certain abnormalities were not only tolerated but even valued. That is particularly true of dwarfs, usually of the short-limbed achondroplastic type, who

92 Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 244–247.

93 E.g. J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dabchour* 1894–95 (Vienna 1903), 78ff. and pl. 14; A. M. Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir III* (London 1915), pl. 18; Blackman and Apted, *op. cit.* VI (London 1953), pl. 18. From Dyn. XIII there is the statue of Sebek-em-saf in Vienna (Cyril Aldred, *Middle Kingdom Art* (London 1950), no. 81.

94 For portly New Kingdom statues see Fischer *MMJ* 9 (1974), 28–30; figs. 35–40. There is also a series of statues with balding heads and a fringe of long hair: e.g. BM 43132: Naville et al., *Deir el Bahari Dyn. XI, III* (London 1913), pl. 18 (5); MMA 64.225; a later New Kingdom example, Turin 3018 (J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III* (Paris 1958), pl. 154 (2). Note too the statue of Amenemope as an old man of 80 years, CG 42127, as compared with more youthful representations of the same person: Terrace and Fischer, *Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Cairo Museum* (London 1970), 117–118. For such a representation in relief see Elizabeth Riefstahl, *JNES* 10 (1951), 65–73.

95 Cairo CG 647 (Mentuemhet) reflects the balding type of the New Kingdom: B. V. Bothmer

et al., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn 1960), pl. 12. While faces were often marked by the furrows of old age, following Middle Kingdom tradition, portly figures were less frequent, the most conspicuous example being Cairo JE 38018 (Iriketkana): *PM* II², 153, and Steffen Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity II* (Brooklyn 1978), 172; cf. also JE 37386 (Harwa), 53, fig. 28.

96 Old Kingdom: Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 245–247; Paul Ghalioungui, *ZAS* 87 (1962), 108–114 (including physical defects such as hernias). New Kingdom: Norman Davies, *BMMA*, March, 1932, Pt. II, pp. 51–52; *Tomb of Puyemré II* (New York 1923), 73–77.

97 See, for example, Terrace and Fischer, *Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Cairo Museum*, pp. 89–92. It may be added that this statue (Cairo JE 43928) had already been published by L. Franchet, *Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* (Paris 1917), 106, a reference which I owe to Bernard V. Bothmer.

98 E.g. Norman Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna I* (London 1903), pl. 3; II (London 1905), pl. 26.

served as jewelers and as keepers of the wardrobe, and in some cases as entertainers.⁹⁹ In this last connection one thinks in particular of the dancing dwarf whose imminent arrival from the southern lands so delighted the heart of Pepy II when he was a boy,¹⁰⁰ and the Middle Kingdom group of ivory figurines from Lisht, one of which is in the Metropolitan Museum.¹⁰¹ Like the dancing dwarf of Pepy II, they seem to be pygmies, and the fairly long arms support this identification, as well, to some extent, as the facial features. We know that they are dancing because the three in Cairo were mounted on a base that provided a means of swivelling them back and forth. The one in the Metropolitan Museum claps his hands to set the rhythm for the others and his base probably pulled the strings that manipulated them. They are carved with extraordinary attention to realistic detail. Kindred physical abnormalities are occasionally to be seen in tomb scenes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms and at Amarna. A dwarf and hunchback are associated in the late Sixth Dynasty tomb of Ty,¹⁰² one leading a monkey, the other a dog. Two early Middle Kingdom tombs at Beni Hasan show a dwarf and a clubfooted man, and in one case they are again joined by a hunchback.¹⁰³ At Amarna a pair of dwarfs appear recurrently, one female, the other male, and both are pigeon-toed or clubfooted. They also have humorously bizarre titles; the first is "the vizier of the Queen, *R-nhh*," the second "the vizier of his mother, *P3-r*".¹⁰⁴ Although dwarfs are not otherwise very frequently represented in the New Kingdom tombs,¹⁰⁵ they appear in a series of statuettes as bearers of ointment jars. The motif is known earlier, but the examples dating to the later half of the Eighteenth Dynasty—at least a half dozen in all—realistically show an asymmetrical stance, to offset the weight of the jar they balance on one shoulder. An example is to be seen at the Metropolitan Museum, another at Brooklyn, and in the latter case the jar bears the cartouches of Akhenaten and Queen Nofretiti.¹⁰⁶

99 Junker, *Giza V* (Vienna 1941), 8–11; Luise Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches* (Heidelberg 1915), 32–33. Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 250–252.

100 *Urk.* I, 128 (14)–131 (3); translation by Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I* (Berkeley 1973), 26–27.

101 MMA 34.1.130; for the entire set see Ambrose Lansing, *BMMA*, Nov. 1934, Pt. II, pp. 30–37. On the subject of pygmies see also Warren Dawson, *JEA* 24 (1938), 185–189, who does not, however, take account of Lansing's article; also David Silverman, *Serapis I* (1969), 53–62, who does so (p. 54).

102 Henri Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti II* (Cairo 1953), pl. 126; dwarfs are shown in the same context in Oriental Institute, *Meyeruka* (Chicago 1938), pl. 158.

103 Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, pl. 16 (dwarf and clubfooted man, otherwise normal); pl. 32 (dwarf, and slightly taller hunchback and clubfooted man). For Old Kingdom statues of such anomalies, see Engelbach in *ASAE* 38 (1938), 285–296. An even earlier statuette of a hunch-

back is published by Jonckheere, in: *CdE* 23 (1948), 24–35; and another by Zaki V. Saad, *Royal Excavations at Helwan (1945–1947)*, *SASAE* 14 (1951), 24 and pl. 24.

104 Norman Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna VI* (London 1908), 18 and n. 2. Ranke omits both names, although he gives another example of *P3-r* (*PN I*, 114 [11]; cf. II, 354), and *R-nhh* is probably a contraction of a name such as **3-hprw-r-nhh* "Amenophis II forever" (*PN I*, 58.3). In one case the name *R-nhh* has a female determinative (Davies, *op. cit.*, pl. 31).

105 Luise Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des Neuen Reiches I* (Heidelberg 1934), 83, gives only a single reference, of uncertain date.

106 Bernard V. Bothmer, *BMFA* 47 (Feb., 1949), 9–11. The motif is known earlier but the asymmetry of the body, to restore equilibrium, is a new feature, occurring on at least half a dozen examples, all dating to the second half of Dyn. XVIII. One in Boston (48.296) has the cartouches of Akhenaten and Nofretiti; for another in the Metropolitan Museum (17.190.1963) see Hayes, *Scepter II*, p. 316, fig. 198.

Despite the paucity of later evidence, a well-known sarcophagus in the Cairo Museum shows that the tradition of dancing dwarfs continued to the end of the Dynastic Period. The sarcophagus was made for the dwarf Pawenhetef so that he might accompany his lord in the next world, and continue to amuse him.¹⁰⁷

Giants were doubtless less interesting to Egyptians, for, in contrast to dwarfs, they tended to be slow-witted, and were also rather difficult to represent in a system of scale that equated size with the importance of the subject. As everyone knows, a certain number of Egyptian representations, both two and three dimensional, are more than life sized, especially where royalty is concerned. But there is some evidence, and notably from the late Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Horemhab at Saqqara, that they considered their southern and eastern neighbors to be somewhat taller than they were, and of heavier build.¹⁰⁸ They themselves were, in fact, a rather small people,¹⁰⁹ and it is not surprising that they sometimes exaggerated the size of foreign foes, as in an epistolary school exercise of the Nineteenth Dynasty, which apparently describes Bedouin (*ššsw*) "some of them four or five cubits from their nose to the foot, and fierce of face."¹¹⁰ Here the giant, in this case nearly seven to nine feet tall, is a figure of terror, much as we think of him in European tradition, despite Rabelais.

Going back a little earlier in the New Kingdom, the scenes of Queen Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt, in her temple at Deir el Bahri, show an interest in the exotic, and provide a truly monstrous example of female obesity (Plate V, fig. 19a).¹¹¹ More than one authority has argued that the Queen of Punt's obesity is pathological, a type of lipodystrophy caused by Dercan's disease.¹¹² It should be noted however, that the enormous Queen of Punt is followed by a somewhat less enormous daughter who is nonetheless well on her way to attaining the same proportions. Is she too a pathological case? I think it more likely that these two women were deliberately fattened, as were the court ladies of Karagwe, surfeited with milk, whom John Speke encountered in his journeys to the sources of the Nile. Karagwe is in the northwest corner of present day Tanzania, and a considerable distance inland from the presumed location of Punt in Somaliland. But Speke's description of these women fits the Queen of Punt perfectly. Of some he says that their features were not affected by their obesity,¹¹³ of another he says: "so large were her arms that, between the joints, the flesh hung down like large, loose-stuffed puddings."¹¹⁴ And her body and legs were no less voluminous, as may be seen from the measurements Speke made of one of them, after strenuously getting her on her feet.¹¹⁵ It is doubtless only coincidental that they lived in

107 CG 29307: *PM* III², 504.

108 C. Vandersleyen et al., *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte: Das alte Ägypten*, pls. 303b–305.

109 See M. Masali in *Population Biology of the Ancient Egyptians*, ed. D.R. Brothwell and B.A. Chiarelli (London 1973), 193–194. The average heights of 260 skeletons from Asyut and Gebelein are 157 cm for males (5' 2") and 148 cm for females (4' 10"). I owe this reference to David O'Connor.

110 A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, Series I, Pt. I: *The Papyrus Anastasi I and the Papyrus Koller* (Leipzig 1911), 70 (Anastasi I, 23,

8). Translated by John Wilson, *ANET*, p. 477; bibliography on p. 475.

111 Cairo JE 14276: *PM* II², 345 (V). For a reconstruction of the entire scene see Wm. Stevenson Smith, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 59–61.

112 Paul Ghalioungui, *ASAE* 49 (1949), 303–316; Emma Brunner-Traut, in *Festschrift zum 150-jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Berlin 1974), 71–85.

113 John Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (Everyman's Library, London 1906), 190.

114 *Ibid.*, p. 189.

115 *Loc. cit.*

beehive huts mounted on poles, just like those shown at Deir el Bahri,¹¹⁶ but they certainly provide a plausible explanation for the Queen of Punt's condition. It seems likely, in any case, that she captured the imagination of the ancient Egyptians, for a later artist (probably of the Ramesside Period) sketched her, inaccurately but expressively, on an ostrakon which is now in the Berlin Museum (Plate V, fig. 19b).¹¹⁷

The Puntite queen leads us to another exotic monstrosity from the region south of Egypt. It is a rhinoceros at the head of a procession of Nubians and Nubian booty, carved in sunk relief on the inner face of one wing of a pylon at Armant, which was probably erected by Tuthmosis III (Plate VI, fig. 20).¹¹⁸ And Tuthmosis III, on a stela that stood against the inner face of the other wing of this same pylon is said to have "brought back a rhinoceros while shooting in the southern desert of Nubia."¹¹⁹ Oliver Myers and the translator of the stela, Margaret Drower, reserved judgment about the date of the reliefs, which some felt to be of later style, but both were inclined towards the earlier alternative,¹²⁰ and others have subsequently followed them in that direction.¹²¹ Unfortunately, the reliefs, although carefully cleaned, were not very clearly published, but the style is unquestionably Ramesside rather than Tuthmoside. One has only to compare the scenes of Hatshepsut, to appreciate the enormous difference between the two periods. Furthermore, the relief shows an animal that has been brought back alive, not shot, as the stela says, and it is difficult to accept Myer's argument that the representation was drawn from a dead specimen¹²²—especially since a group of men follow it, restraining it with two ropes. It must be concluded that a later king was inspired to outdo the exploit of Tuthmosis III, and as Myers says, this king would then have been Ramesses II, who left an inscription on the same wing of the pylon, in the entrance way.

Marvelous as was the feat of bringing so huge and ferocious an animal back to Egypt, it would not qualify for mention in my brief survey were it not for the inscriptions carved all around it, most unusual in this context, which show how prodigious it was thought to be. The inscriptions give the height of a foreleg and the circumference of its foot, the circumference of a hindleg and that of its belly. The length of the horn is also noted, and other data, such as the total height, were probably written above the back of the animal, now lost. These measurements are virtually as methodical as those that Speke made of the fat noblewomen of Karagwe for much the same reason. But the man assigned to make them must have had even more trouble than Speke had, and, to judge from the verdict of a zoologist, he evidently guessed at them, greatly exaggerating the height of the foreleg and the circumference of the belly.¹²³

On a very much smaller scale, an interest in natural oddities is evidenced, in the New Kingdom, by a fossil sea urchin, which is inscribed: "found on the south of the quarry(?) by the god's father *T3-nfr*."¹²⁴

116 *Ibid.*, p. 172.

117 Schäfer, *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 1916, p. 38. Norman Davies, *BMMA*, Dec. 1930, Pt. II, p. 30, fig. 1. Photograph in Wm. Peck, *Egyptian Drawings* (London 1978), no. 46.

118 Mond and Myers, *Temples of Armant* (London 1940), pl. 93 (6); photograph on pl. 9. Also *Illustrated London News*, July 4, 1936, p. 28.

119 Mond and Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 183, pl. 103.


120 *Ibid.*, p. 25; Drower, p. 160; both tend to regard the style of the reliefs as a subjective matter.

121 A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*² (London 1950), 75, n. 10; *PM* V, 157; Keimer, *ASAE* 48 (1948), 48–49; Helck, *Urk.* IV, pp. 1247–




122 Mond and Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 27. [1248.

123 *Loc. cit.*

124 Turin Suppl. 2761: Ernesto Scamuzzi,

But for true monstrosities of natural origin one must return to the reign of Tuthmosis III, who left, in delicate raised relief, a record of the plants and animals he encountered in the Syrian campaign of his 25th regnal year. The so-called "Botanical Garden" is displayed on the walls of a room at the back of his Festival Temple at Karnak and is dedicated to the god Amun.¹²⁵ The botanical specimens, often including the roots of the plants, must have withered in transit, for while most of them look plausible, they are, as Norman Davies has pointed out, products of the artist's imagination.¹²⁶ On the southern wall, however, there are some freaks that are familiar to country veterinarians,¹²⁷ namely bovines with two tails in one case (Plate VI, fig. 21),¹²⁸ and three horns in another (Plate VI, fig. 22). They have obviously been introduced as exotic wonders, and as such, they bring us back to the story told by Lucian and Rabelais, which was my point of departure. Together with the monstrous rhinoceros that was publicly exhibited in the reign of Ramesses III, they prove that the Egyptians of the New Kingdom did not disdain exotic freaks, but admired them as curiosities. We have seen too that there was, in earlier periods, going back to the Old Kingdom, a considerable interest in human anomalies—especially those associated with dwarfism. The Egyptians were also capable of inventing quite frightening combinations of animals, or of man and beast, as is most conspicuously attested by the demonic divinities that were ultimately called Bes and Tueris. But the majority of the hybrid creations which we may well find monstrous, such as the animal headed gods, can hardly be considered so for two reasons. The first, and foremost, is the fact that all Egyptian art is hieroglyphic; there is no other culture in human history that has, from its very first use of writing, so completely united a pictorial style of writing with every aspect of its artistic production.¹²⁹ This means that the two aspects of the anthropomorphized god not only conform, unlike Bes and Tueris, to a strict logic, in which the head represents the original element, but also that both aspects are detached from retinal reality by the conventions and elegance of Egyptian style. The second factor is that, although they are normally separate and discrete, hieroglyphs tend to form composites; one of the earliest and most common examples is the series of verbs of motion, in which a pair of feet is attached to initial or principal phonetic signs. Thus , a piece of rope (*ṯ*) with two legs represents *ṯṯi* "take."¹³⁰ By extending this principle, various potent symbols can be equipped with arms and legs so that, to take but one example, dating to the Middle Kingdom, Life and Power may prepare offerings for the deceased, wielding knives to carve his meat (Plate VI, fig. 23).¹³¹ With such ever-present possibilities at hand it is remarkable that fanciful monsters do not play a greater role in Egyptian art. Even though Lucian's story about Ptolemy is questionable, one must agree with his conclusion that the Egyptians normally preferred a serene and refined order of beauty to subjects that were wild or monstrous.

Bolletino della Società Piemontese di Archeologia e di Belle Arti, N.S. 1 (1947), 11–14. The word translated "quarry" is *ik*, the final sign being per-

haps  (for ) rather than  (Sopd), as Scamuzzi takes it.

125 *PM* II², 120 (Room XXXI).

126 *BMMA*, Dec 1930, Pt II, pp. 34–35.

127 The one whom I have consulted is Dr. Paul

Elwell, of Bridgewater, Conn.

128 The head and one foreleg have not been preserved.

129 Siegfried Schott, *Hieroglyphen*, *AWLM* 1950, pp. 56–60, Fischer, *Orientation of Hieroglyphs* (New York 1977), 3–5.

130 Cf. Fischer, *MMJ* 12 (1977), 7 and ff.

131 W.M.F. Petrie, *Antaeopolis* (London 1930), pl. 28.

Magic Figurines, Amulets, and Talismans*

Erica Reiner

I

I resolved to go to Babylon and address myself to one of the Magi . . . The man took me in charge, and first of all, for twenty-nine days, beginning with the new moon, he took me down to the Euphrates in the early morning, toward sunrise, and bathed me; after which he would make a long address which I could not follow very well, for like an incompetent announcer at the games, he spoke rapidly and indistinctly. It is likely, however, that he was invoking certain spirits.¹

The long and elaborate Babylonian rituals that Lucian makes fun of ought to provide us, so one would think, with instructions for making and using magic figurines and amulets that often prominently figure in them, and thus to allow us to identify these with extant figural representations. Yet, when we look for written evidence, we find that texts tell us little about amulets or talismans, and they are even less informative when it comes to correlations between written descriptions and iconography. One of my points in this essay will be to speculate why this should be so.

It should be said at the outset that, notwithstanding my inclusion of the word "talisman" in my title, no reference can be found in Mesopotamian texts to talismans in the strict sense of this term as it is best known from the Hermetic writings. These writings describe—I here quote David Pingree—how "the magician draws down to earth the spiritual powers of the stars and planets and fixes them in talismans prepared of the proper substances and engraved with or shaped into the proper symbolic forms."² And yet, the pursuit of the elusive amulets and talismans has led me to an unexpected source for evidence of Mesopotamian appeals to these spiritual powers, and this evidence will be the subject of the second part of this essay.

But first, let me review what texts can tell us about amulets, for which, by the way, no Akkadian word seems to exist. An undisputed type of amulet is of course the cylinder seal, whatever its primary function may have been. Its amuletic function is corroborated by written sources, at least in the sense that the inscription on the seal often carries the wish that whoever wears it attain a long and prosperous life. Only tangentially relevant here are omens

* References to cuneiform texts published without translation and transcription are cited with the abbreviations given in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, for example, KAV, VAB etc.

1 Lucian, *Menippus*, translated by A.M. Har-

mon, The Loeb Classical Library, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961) p. 85.

2 David Pingree, "Some of the Sources of the *Gbāyat al-hakīm*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980) 3.

based on seals, whether the prediction is derived from the type of seal given to a person in a dream³ or simply from the material the seal worn by a person is made of, since the prognostications may be unfavorable as well as favorable.⁴ It is also well known that some seals are inscribed with an incantation, and the practice of doing so is mentioned in texts as well.⁵

As for such demons and monsters that are engraved on cylinder seals or otherwise depicted, their profusion in representational art can hardly be matched in cuneiform literature, even in mythological literature. There are, to be sure, the scorpion-men—or rather scorpion-persons—in the Gilgameš epic; they guard, however, the entrance to magic landscapes and in that they are not too different from the creatures Alexander the Great saw on his eastward journey, or from the strange and monstrous beings of which medieval Arab travelers to India brought reports and which have survived until recent memory in the person of the Abominable Snowman.

Other strange creatures known from literary texts, such as the guardian of the Cedar Forest, Humbaba, in the Gilgameš epic or the “evil Anzû-bird” defeated by Ninurta in the like-named story, did not start their careers as redoubtable, evil-mongering demonic creatures, as we just recently found out from newly recovered fragments of the tales concerning them: both of them were appointed to their jobs by Enlil, and they served him, one, Humbaba, faithfully to the end, even to death, and the other, Anzû, until he succumbed to the temptation to steal from Enlil the insignia of supreme power so temptingly left outside the bathroom door which he was guarding.⁶

The incommensurability of the role of such monsters in narrative and in representational art should not surprise us. To quote David Bynum:

... only a small part of Mesopotamian story entered into Mesopotamian ritual and cultic iconography, and the sum of the motifs common to both narrative and cultic depiction was much less than the sum of the motifs in any attested story of that time. Nor is any of that at all surprising. On the contrary, it arises from the very nature of pictorial art. Pictures by themselves were never able to tell a story until the advent of cinema. They could allude to and evoke remembrance of narrative in persons who already knew the tales to which pictures referred, but they were never more than a stimulating supplement to verbal story-telling. . . . It is perfectly natural therefore that Mesopotamian glyptic imagery was cultic and ritual, not mythic. Like the cults to which it was a religious or decorative adjunct, Mesopotamian glyptic iconography was an abstraction from narrative of certain elements that were at some time or other symbolically significant in Mesopotamia. It follows that much may be gained for the study of Mesopotamian cult and glyptic from a

3 A. Leo Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 46/3 (Philadelphia: The Society, 1956) pp. 276ff.

4 F. Köcher, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen* (hereafter cited as BAM) (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963–) no. 194 viii 9–15, and the similar texts K.4212, Rm. 320

5 Lamaštu, Tablet I i 10; provisionally in *Zeit-*

schrift für Assyriologie 16 (1902) 154–200; forthcoming new edition by Walter Farber

6 For Gilgameš, see the new fragment published by Egbert von Weiher, “Ein Fragment der 5. Tafel des Gilgameš-Epos aus Uruk,” *Bagdader Mitteilungen* 11 (1980) 90–105; for Anzû, see W.W. Hallo and W.L. Moran, “The First Tablet of the SB Recension of the Anzû-Myth,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 31 (1979) 65ff., especially p. 70

prior knowledge of narrative. But the inverse is not true; not even a long and richly attested iconographic tradition like this one will, unaided, tell its modern viewers much about the tradition of narrative that was contemporary with it.⁷

Our sources also fail us when we seek in them descriptions that match amulets or magic figurines. Apart from the famous Lamaštu amulets on which the demon is depicted in the same shape and with the same attributes as the Lamaštu incantations specify, correspondences between descriptions of demons and monsters and their representations are hard to find. Not even the representations of the monstrous creatures described in the unique text last edited by Köcher⁸ have to my knowledge yet been identified. This text, known since 1894 and dubbed "*Göttertypentext*" by its first editor Bezold, gives precise descriptions of half-human, half-animal figures, specifying not only their shapes and paraphernalia but even their postures. It also identifies each composite monster by name, usually by a name not known from other sources but occasionally by a name familiar from other texts, such as the *lahmu*-creatures of the *apsû* who belong to the retinue of the god Ea. Incidentally, the only seal that is referred to by its figural representation, in a letter from the Middle-Assyrian period,⁹ is called "the seal with the *lahmu*."

The purpose of this "*Göttertypentext*" is still not known; it could describe a row of composite monsters—*Mischwesen*—in some temple, either in the round or in relief, or it could have been intended as a guide in the manufacture of statues, reliefs, or figurines. I would be inclined, though, to doubt the latter possibility, for the text's structure is quite unlike that of the so-called procedure texts, such as the ones identified by Leo Oppenheim which were written for the use of craftsmen with instructions for making glass and for dyeing wool purple. Therefore I think it unlikely that the *Göttertypentext* was meant as a technical instruction for the use of sculptors or other artists.¹⁰ As we shall see, texts with instructions for drawing magical representations were neither written by accomplished artists nor did they presuppose artistic talent on the part of the magical expert.

The numerous magic rituals (*namburbi*, *Maqlû*, *bît mēširi*, etc.) that use figurines hardly ever describe them. They simply direct the magic practitioner to fashion one or several *šalmu*'s. This term *šalmu* can designate any figural representation, rock-relief or statue in the round, from life-size and larger-than-life-size to the smallest ornament worn as jewelry, and may even refer to the shape of a constellation. It is also the term used to describe, for instance, the representation of the moon god Sin on the costly jasper cylinder seal Assurbanipal had engraved, a fact reported by Nabonidus,¹¹ though this representation, other texts tell us, may have simply been the lunar crescent. Alas, the word *šalmu* does not seem to mean "amulet."

Since the purpose of magic rituals is eventually to destroy the figurines, and with them the evil they represent, by burning or melting them, or throwing them into a river, or bury-

7 David E. Bynum, *The Daemon in the Wood* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978) p. 227; see also Irene J. Winter, "Royal Rhetoric and the Development of Historical Narrative in Neo-Assyrian Reliefs," *Studies in Visual Communication* 7 (Spring 1981) 2–39.

8 F. Köcher, "Der babylonische Göttertypentext," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientfor-*

schung 1 (1953) 57–107.

9 KAV 98:9, translated in A.L. Oppenheim, *Letters from Mesopotamia* (Chicago and London, 1967) no. 85.

10 For a description of statues to be made for the king in the royal correspondence of the Sargonid period see, for example, CT 53 41.

11 VAB 4 286 x 35.

ing them in a deserted place, it would be strange indeed if such figurines had survived. In any case, it is the magic operation, the personification of the evil in a material form so that it can be disposed of, that lies at the core of these rituals, and verisimilitude to the evil demon is hardly a necessary factor. While some figurines mentioned in these texts can be identified with surviving representations, such as the mentioned Lamaštu or the famous Pazuzu-head, others cannot, whether it be the figurine of Gilgameš or figurines of evil demons known under such generic names as the evil *utukku*, the evil *alû*, the evil *rābišu*, etc., not to speak of the figurine of an evil power simply called *mimma lemnu* "anything evil," whose features even the Babylonians may have been at a loss to specify.

In fact, the texts are rather reluctant to provide descriptions and physical characteristics of such evil demons. On the contrary, they insist on the fact that the demons are featureless—they are like clouds, now amassing, now dissolving.

If that is so, we have come, regrettably, to the conclusion that the scholars who prescribed the fashioning of magic figurines and amulets apparently had no connection or contact with those craftsmen and artists who engraved seals or reliefs. Rather, when the scribe writing a magic text makes an attempt at a drawing, he comes up with either a schematic or a very clumsy representation. For example, in a ritual (published in *Tod und Leben*¹²) in which the layout of nine bricks and nine altars is indicated, the bricks and altars are very schematically represented by nine squares and nine circles. Instructions for making drawings, for instance in the *bit mēširi* tablet, of apotropaic figures on the wall, may have meant scenes that we know from actual representations, such as the "fighting figures" on a Halaf relief,^{12a} yet when the scribe does draw a model on the tablet, a rare occurrence in itself, this model is very schematic and crude.

On a tablet from Sultantepe I edited some years ago under the title "Fortunetelling in Mesopotamia," to which there now exists a duplicate from Ur,¹³ the figures that are to be drawn are actually illustrated. The first ritual directs the drawing of the figure of *il ramani* "one's own god"; on the Sultantepe tablet the drawing is not well preserved, but it is clear on the text's duplicate from Ur. It is a lozenge made with four cuneiform wedges, the tails of which intersect, and in the middle of the lozenge are written the cuneiform signs for *il ramani*. Beside this drawing there is another one, this time a curvilinear figure, more or less in the form of an ellipse, with the notation "*il ramani* according to another tablet"; that is, there existed two models for drawing this figure. The next ritual prescribes making a drawing of the two gods Ea and Asalluhi on the bed of the client who wishes to see a mantric dream; this is accompanied by a drawing of two crude outlines, but the exorcist-scholar author of the text specifically directs: "Make this drawing that I have drawn here."¹⁴

Yet even the exorcist-scholar seems to have felt the desire to endow a demon or an apotropaic figure with more precise physical characteristics. In a late commentary,¹⁵ the

12 E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* (Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1931) pp. 108–111.

12a H. Th. Bossert, *Altsyrien* (Tübingen, 1951) p. 147, fig. 472.

13 As long as only the one copy from Sultantepe, near Harrān, was known, it could be assumed that it represented a particular, "Western" tradition, for which later parallels from the Sabeian lit-

erature could be adduced, see Pingree, *op. cit.* p. 11.

14 *uṣurtu annitu ša ēširu lu tēšir* STT 73:60, collation by O. R. Gurney in *Archiv für Orientforschung* 28 (1981/82) 93.

15 H. Hunger, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk*, *Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka*, vol. 9 (Berlin: Mann, 1976) no. 47:14.

rabisu-demon is said to have the face of a goat, as has another demon, the *māmtu*, in the Vision of the Netherworld.¹⁶ An apotropaic figure, against a disease most likely to be identified as epilepsy, personifies the individual's protective spirits, the *šedu* and the *lamassu*, in the shape of a two-faced figure, not Janus-like as the god *Usmû* since it has a male face in front, representing the *šedu* spirit which is male, and a female face in back, representing the *lamassu*, which is female,¹⁷ a variation on the Janus-type also mentioned in a late astral-mythological commentary¹⁸ with reference to the monster Tiamat. However, this description rather brings to mind the amulet for diminishing concupiscence (and thus essential for soldiers going into battle) whose preparation is described in the magic treatise *Ghayāt al-hakīm*, or *Picatrix*, from a recipe given by Aristotle for the benefit of Alexander the Great, an amulet in the shape of the figure of a man and a woman riveted back-to-back with an iron needle. As in other descriptions of talismans in such magic texts of the Hermetic tradition, the materials to be used for the amulet are carefully specified and are so chosen as to maximize the beneficent influence of celestial bodies.

Late comes, from Mesopotamia too, evidence for correlations between materials used in magic and the stars and planets. Only in Seleucid times were explicit connections systematically made between the zodiacal signs and plants, stones, and other entities of the material world, as on an Uruk tablet.¹⁹ Earlier texts that treat stones and plants seem to be simply handbooks describing their features—often by comparison with other stones or plants as in Greek alchemical works—and stating the effect they will attain. These compendia, *abnu šikinšu* on stones and *šammu šikinšu* on plants, may have served, we may speculate, in the confection of amulets and may have later become associated with astral influences.²⁰ It is perhaps not an accident of discovery that the third such treatise that has survived, *šeru šikinšu*, concerns snakes, which, as we have seen, provide the heads or bodies of many monsters. I would like to note here, though I am trespassing on the classicists' territory, that at least in the Hellenistic and Byzantine traditions, the *theriodeiktēs*, translated in Liddell—Scott—Jones as "exhibitor of wild beasts," but who is rather, according to Louis Robert, a snake charmer ("*montreur de serpents*") occurs together with the *botanikós*, "herbalist," and the *epaoidoi*, "*faiseurs d'incantations*."²¹

II

While Mesopotamian magical texts neither contain the precise instructions for the material to be used or the symbols to be engraved that Hellenistic and Byzantine Greek and Arabic

16 Edited by W. von Soden, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 43 (1936) 16:47.

17 Text in Hunger, *op. cit.* no. 50:12–13; readings first suggested by W.G. Lambert.

18 L.W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, vol. 2 (London: Luzac, 1902) pp. 67ff. iv 12.

19 Text edited by E.F. Weidner, *Gestirn-Darstellungen auf babylonischen Tontafeln* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 1967) pp. 15ff.

20 That the properties described in the handbook *abnu šikinšu* were considered in the selection of stones for making statues or carvings is evident from some passages in Esarhaddon, who describes

having engraved a *mušbuššu*-dragon on an *alallu*-stone, *aban qabê u magâri* "the stone which makes wishes come true" (Borger Esarh. 85 § 53 r. 50ff.; cf. also *Archaeologia* 79 p. 52 No. 122 N (+ M) 5, Senn., cited in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* s.v. *elallu* A), and having set up at the doorway *šedu* and *lamassu* figures made of stones *ša ki pi šikinšunu irat lemni utarru* "which, in accord with their nature, repulse evil" (Borger Esarh. 62 § 27 B v 41ff.).

21 Louis Robert, *Hellenica* I (Limoges, 1940) pp. 132ff.

texts give for making talismans²² nor describe the manipulations designed to imbue these magic objects with the spiritual powers of the celestial bodies, these powers were nevertheless recognized and sought by the Mesopotamian magic expert.

An as yet largely untapped source that furnishes evidence for this preoccupation is the vast corpus of medical literature, the work of experts in medicine and magic, a corpus that belongs, along with the great compendia of magic such as *Maqlû* and *Šurpu* and other series enumerated in the exorcist's handbook,²³ in the libraries of the experts on healing. These experts, though specialized in the craft of healing and of averting evil, must have achieved their literacy by copying the works that were a regular part of the ancient scholar's curriculum, starting with the sign lists and vocabularies, and including, no doubt, other branches of scholarly literature. They were not, however, trained as specialists in that other important branch of learning that rose to prominence in the first millennium that we may loosely call astrology, bearing in mind, of course, that this science was not at all comparable to Greek and later astrology. It may be noted, in passing, that there also exists evidence for the converse, namely that experts in astrology were acquainted not only with the correlations of the signs of the zodiac (or rather microzodiac, since the zodiacal signs are each divided into twelve sections of 2 1/2 degrees) and specific plants and stones but also with the lexical works and rituals of the scribal curriculum. This evidence comes from precisely the same text that lists these correlations to which I have already referred, the Seleucid astrological text from Uruk, since it also bears on the bottom of the obverse excerpts from lexical texts, lists of incantations, and quotes from rituals—presumably the doodling or homework of the scribe who used the free space on the tablet for these exercises.

Yet, the medical experts show their concern for and their acquaintance with astrology, although not with omen astrology, through their appeals to the powers of the celestial bodies. This type of astrology has been named "catarchic astrology"—and here I again quote David Pingree:

*a Hellenistic science which, denying the determinism of ordinary astrology, attempts to provide rules for choosing the moments most auspicious for commencing activities in this world. The stars are powerful but far from unique influences on terrestrial events, and the wise catarchic astrologer can utilize these influences to best advantage. In general, it is catarchic rather than deterministic astrology that must be and was used in magic*²⁴

Medical texts use catarchic astrology in two different ways. One is in the preparation and administration of medications and the other in prayers addressed to the appropriate stars.

The preparation of medicine is in all cultures hedged with many precautions, from finding an auspicious moment for picking the herb and proceeding in a proper manner to do so (such as on a moonless night, avoiding the use of an iron tool, propitiating the plant, and so

22 The material—the type of stone or mineral—but not its shape or decoration is mentioned, as if the material, for instance, it being a red stone, was the only thing of importance. Nor are magic symbols ever prescribed, of the type of Solomon's seal or magic square, although just such a magic square has recently come to light from excavations at Uruk. See Antoine Cavigneaux in *Baghdader*

Mitteilungen 10 (1979) 124ff., no. 10.

23 KAR 44, see H. Zimmern, "Ein Leitfaden der Beschwörungskunst," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 30 (1915/1916) 204ff.; Jean Bottéro, "Antiquités assyro-babyloniennes" in *Annuaire 1974/1975, École Pratique des Hautes Etudes* (Paris, 1975) pp. 95ff.

24 Pingree, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

on) through its preparation (such as having a virgin boy do the crushing, grinding, or the like), and finally administering it at an auspicious moment and sometimes enhancing its curative powers by not only administering it internally or externally but also by applying it as an amulet by tying it to the patient's body. Not a few descriptions of these practices in antiquity, well known from Pliny, or in later European herbalism, as discussed by Delatte in his *Herbarius*, have almost word-for-word parallels in Babylonian prescriptions.²⁵

That the Babylonian practices were not just part of universal folklore, without any influence on Classical and later Near Eastern practices, may be inferred from statements in the "Nabatean Agriculture," a work known from the Arabic translation of Ibn Waḥṣīyah, for a long time considered several thousand years old but which now has been dated to the ninth century A.D. It is described there that certain medicinal plants were introduced by several named kings of Babylonia.²⁶ And in fact some Babylonian medical texts also attribute one or the other prescription to a famous king of the past.²⁷ Nor is it perhaps a coincidence that both in Babylonian and in Hippocratic medicine such substances as the "bile of a black bull" are prescribed, surely not an easily or cheaply available ingredient if we take the literal meaning; and therefore possibly denoting a vegetal substance; compare our plant names: foxglove, lion's-tooth, or snapdragon.

In this essay, however, I would like to single out only those practices involved in the preparation of medicine which have recourse to astrology (again in the loose sense I have mentioned) and which may lead us to the conclusion that it is in these medical texts that we should seek the origin of the magical operations concerned with amulets and talismans—magical operations which eventually were combined with Egyptian traditions "transmitted through Hellenistic and Roman versions" or "with Syrian combinations of indigenous traditions with those of Greece, Iran, and India"²⁸ so masterfully unraveled by David Pingree in his edition of the Latin *Picatrix*.

The most telling of these practices is the instruction, translated in the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary in one of its more rationalist moments, "to let the preparation stand overnight." The phrase goes, literally: "You let it spend the night in the stars." This phrase corresponds to the Greek *astronomeîn*, which was translated into German as "*besternen*," but for which I could find no adequate English term.

Most frequently the instruction is not specific, speaking only of "the stars" in general, or even in the singular, "the star," a feature suggesting that the Akkadian phrase had become an idiom similar to the Greek or German terms just quoted. In some instances, however, a particular star or constellation is mentioned. Still, I would like to stress that even in these cases the prescription is not necessarily followed by a prayer to the star or constellation to which the medication is exposed, although, as we shall see, such prayers are well attested. Often the star to which the medicine is to be exposed is the Goat constellation (MUL. ÛZ), our Lyra—a constellation identified with Gula, goddess of healing, an equation attested in

25 For example, drawing a circle around the plant (Pliny 25 § 59 or 23 § 54); cf. Köcher, BAM 578 i 40 and parallels or 129 ii 30.

26 D. Chwolson, *Über die Überreste der altbabylonischen Literatur in arabischen Übersetzungen* (St. Petersburg, 1859) p. 42.

27 Hammurabi, Köcher, BAM 159 iv 22; strings of amulet stones to Narām-Sin, Köcher,

BAM 372 ii 5, 357:5, 376 iv 8 and parallels; see F. Köcher, "Ein verkannter neubabylonischer Text aus Sippar," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 20 (1963) 157ff.; Rīm-Sin, see Yalvaç, *Studies Landsberger* 332, confirmed by GÚ AM-^dSin LUGAL [UD]. UNUGki CT 51 89 i 15.

28 Pingree, *op. cit.* p. 2f.

Astrolabe B. The Goat constellation is even explained in a medical text as *tarbaš Gula*, that is, "the cattlepen of Gula."²⁹

The second aspect of medical magic—iatromathematics—in its relationship to astrology concerns the invocation of stars and planets, explicitly asking them to make the medication efficacious. While only a handful of such constellations are addressed, my examples may serve to illustrate yet another magic function of the celestial bodies.

David Pingree once asked me, in connection with his work on the *Picatrix* which contains prayers to stars and planets, what Akkadian prayers to the stars I knew of. At the time I simply directed him to the *šū-illa* prayers to stars.³⁰ In my ignorance I failed to provide him with prayers embedded in medical and magic rituals which may represent closer parallels to his text and its forerunners, the prayers to stars of the Greek papyri. One such prayer, from the already mentioned "Fortunetelling" text from Sultantepe, addressed to Ursa Major—our Big Dipper that the Babylonians called the Wagon—has already been adduced as a parallel by Pingree. There are, however, many more prayers to this constellation, not just for obtaining favorable omens as in the "Fortunetelling" text or, as in a ritual³¹ that also prescribes fashioning two figurines of armed warriors, for keeping the enemy away from the land and procuring victory in battle. Ursa Major is so often invoked in medical rituals perhaps because, being a circumpolar constellation, it never sets or, as the Babylonians put it, "it stays in the sky all year."

Other stars or constellations invoked to endow the medication with potency but sometimes named as the influence used in black magic,³² to harm a man, are Sirius and a constellation called the Yoke star,³³ roughly equivalent to our Boötes; also the Scorpion,³⁴ Orion, and Centaurus. A prayer to Saint Orion is known from the Greek magical papyri.³⁵ As for Centaurus, it occurs among the herbalist's patrons, along with not only the planets Mercury, Mars, Venus, and the Moon but also—under its Greek manifestation Apollo—with the constellation Lyra, which in Mesopotamia represents the goddess Gula.³⁶

To an unnamed star, simply called "the first star," is addressed a prayer asking that the medication be efficacious in dispelling the evil that befell the man.³⁷ Even though in this particular case the ill is no more serious than incipient baldness, albeit caused by an angered personal god and goddess, these prayers to stars suggest that calling down the celestial power to be immanent—not in a durable talisman but in a potion to be ingested—was part of Babylonian iatromathematics.

III

In the light of this scattered evidence from medical texts, we may briefly return to magical figurines and reexamine their preparation. Indeed we do find that in this process too the

29 AMT 41,1 iv 39.

30 Conveniently collected now by W.R. Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen "Gebetsbeschwörungen,"* Studia Pohl: Series Maior 5 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1976).

31 STT 72 and parallel 251.

32 STT 89

33 Köcher, BAM 147 rev. 17ff. and dupl. 148 rev. 19ff.

34 R. Campbell Thompson, *A Catalogue of the Late Babylonian Tablets in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (London: Luzac, 1927) pl. 4 B 5 line 10.

35 PGM I 29–36; see Pingree, *op. cit.* p. 11.

36 Robert, *op. cit.* p. 138.

37 Köcher, BAM 480 ii 49–56.

celestial bodies are occasionally mentioned. If their mention has passed unnoticed, it is because it is possible to take the references to the sun god Šamaš and the moon god Sin as pertaining to their divine functions alone. When, however, the sun is paired with the stars, or the sun and moon play a role side by side, we have a stronger case for suggesting that they are considered in their planetary aspects. I will argue this only in those cases where the texts indicate a concern to establish a favorable moment for making magic means more efficacious, a moment established with reference to celestial influence. Not every prayer to Sin and Šamaš shall be considered as an appeal for lunar or solar irradiation, nor every invocation to Ištar and Nabû as seeking the beneficial influence of Venus and Mercury; in other words, I shall not be concerned with the question of astral religion. Only when a particular moment in time is specified with respect to the celestial bodies do I feel justified in finding in the sources astral reference, even if the elaborate identifications with particular astrological configurations found in Hellenistic and later sources are absent from our written material.

Of these moments in time, we can identify not only the conjunction of sun and moon, attested in the well-known instructions to carry out some operation on the day of the neomenia, but also the time of the opposition of sun and moon, as clearly stated in a magic ritual: "on the fifteenth day, when moon and sun are equally present."³⁸ Since the libations and prayers are directed westward to the moon and eastward to the sun while the patient faces north, the text obviously specifies a dawn ceremony invoking the setting full moon in the west and the rising sun in the east.

Another magic ritual, to be performed when a man's illness is attributed to the spirit of the dead, uses a figurine of *mimma lemnu*, "anything evil." This figurine is to be clad in lion skin, with a string of carnelian around his neck, and equipped with a travel sack and provisions. Normally such figurines are then thrown into a river which carries them downstream, or buried in a deserted place, or otherwise disposed of. This time, however, before the figurine is disposed of, an unfired pot is placed upside down over it, and it is so exposed for three days on the roof so that, the text says, during the day the sun "see" it and during the night the stars "see" it. During this time offerings are to be made to the sun at noon and to the stars at night. Only then is the pot buried in the desert.³⁹

Nor should it be surprising that astral magic is associated with the fabrication of prophylactic dog figurines. The dog, well known from elsewhere for its chthonic associations, is the animal sacred to the goddess Gula, goddess of healing and, inevitably, also of death. Which of the many dog figurines found, especially at Isin, a cult city of Gula's, also served apotropaic purposes similar to those described in the magic texts,⁴⁰ I do not know. These texts enumerate not the dogs' physical characteristics but the ferocious names that are written on their flanks and in accordance with which they keep evil from the house at whose thresholds they are buried, names that are often exhortations such as: "Don't hesitate, bite!" and "Go at his throat!". The ritual accompanying the fashioning of such dog figurines in a Lamaštu text⁴¹ also prescribes that the magic expert inscribe a tablet and draw upon it a crescent—for the moon—, a sundisk, a star—for the planet Venus—, and a *gamlu*, symbols that in fact

38 *Ibid.* 323:93ff. and parallel 228:28ff.

39 *Ibid.* 323:4ff.

40 Such as KAR 298, edited by O R. Gurney in *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 22 (1935) 31–96. See also Dessa Rittig, *Assyrisch-*

babylonische Kleinplastik magischer Bedeutung vom 13.–6. Jb. v. Chr. (Munich: Uni-Druck, 1977) pp. 151ff.

41 LKU 33 r. 18ff. and dupls., courtesy W Farber.

appear on the top register of the Lamaštu plaque (except that the *gamlu* is there replaced by the seven circles customarily taken to represent the Pleiades). Does the *gamlu* refer to the exorcist's curved staff, as the word's common acceptation suggests, or to the emblem of the constellation Auriga, known in Babylonia as *Gamlu*? Some of the similar groups of emblems appearing on cylinder seals may, hence, indeed refer to a particular ritual such as the seal from Tell Halaf which Parpola has convincingly connected with the exorcistic ritual and prayers prescribed for the king in a Neo-Assyrian letter.⁴² Other connections between emblems and figurines and the texts which cite or allude to them are yet to be established; they will emerge, we hope, from the collaboration of art historians and philologists.

42 Simo Parpola, *Letters of Assyrian Scholars* (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, vol. 5/2) note to no. 203.

Gilgamesh in Literature and Art: The Second and First Millennia*

Wilfred G. Lambert

Study of the content of ancient Mesopotamian art is severely hampered by lack of captions, which have been so helpful in the study of Greek vase painting. Some of the commonest Mesopotamian artistic motifs are unidentifiable from texts. For example, the stylized palm tree, so ubiquitous in later second- and earlier first-millennium art of Babylonia, Assyria and related areas, what moderns tend to call "the sacred tree" or (worse) "the tree of life," seems to be unknown in texts. Attempts in the other direction, that is to discover in art depictions of gods, persons and events known from literature, have been a little more successful. At least no one doubts that the figure being borne aloft by an eagle on Akkadian cylinder seals is Etana, king of Kish, whose attempted ascent to heaven is narrated in a Babylonian epic.¹ But, of course, Gilgamesh is the Sumerian king and hero better known from

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13). The drawings (Plate VIII, fig. 9; Plate X, figs. 18, 20, 21; Plate XI, figs. 23, 27) have been made specially for the present publication by Dr Dominique Collon.

1 While the identification remains plausible, the problems have never been considered. The story is first known from an Old Babylonian copy, A. T. Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* IV (1923) no. 2, and this is alluded to in *The Sumerian King List* (ed. T. Jacobsen, *Assyriological Studies* 11 (1939) p. 81), the earliest copies of which are no older. Thus the literary attestation is only known some 200–300 years later than the date of the seals. Also the items commonly associated on the seals with the figure being borne aloft (dogs, sheep, goats, shepherd and potter (?)) do not appear in the texts. The artistic motif of the eagle bearing up a man appears much later apparently borrowed directly or indirectly from the Akkadian seals, on the gold bowl of Hasanlu (E. Porada, *Ancient Iran, The Art of Pre-Islamic Times* (London 1965) p. 98).

literature, and more appealing to Westerners because of the tragic element in the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. Attempts to see him in ancient art began already with George Smith, the first decipherer and translator of portions of the Epic. His attraction to the figure of Gilgamesh in the Babylonian Epic was matched by his fascination for the scenes on Akkadian cylinders showing heroes grappling with lions and sundry bovines. Accordingly he identified the nude hero with three curls on either side of his face as Gilgamesh.² This approach to the subject has continued, with a climax in 1979. In that year a whole book on these lines appeared: *Gilgamesh and Enkidu* (in Russian) by V.K. Afanasieva. The present writer is very skeptical. The only certain thing was pointed out by E. Porada in a paper read to the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in 1958: that the artistic motifs go back beyond the historical figure of Gilgamesh, so if in the Akkad period Gilgamesh is meant by the hero mentioned, this is at some point in time reinterpretation. There is no difficulty in this whatsoever, but none-the-less there are, as it seems to the present writer, two major objections. First, in Akkadian art this hero is commonly accompanied by a bovine figure doing exactly the same as the nude hero with three curls each side of his face. This bovine has therefore been identified with Enkidu, Gilgamesh' companion on his adventures. The texts, however, make clear that Enkidu had a human frame, was in fact almost identical with Gilgamesh,³ and there seems to be no hint of bovine connections anywhere. The attempt to identify Enkidu with the god Enkimdu is misconceived. Enkidu is an old Sumerian personal name meaning "Lord of the good place",⁴ unrelated to Enkimdu apart from the initial En-. The latter is god of irrigation and arable farming, not of stock-raising. Secondly, the hero in question is plainly associated with the god Enki on many other Akkadian seals, with whom Gilgamesh has no connection, and there is good reason to identify him with the Lahmu.⁵

2 G. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis* (London, 1876), Frontispiece, cf. plate after p. 174 and pp. 238f. with fig.

3 There is no adequate text of the epic in print, and the best translation is that of A. Schott revised by W. von Soden: *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Stuttgart, 1982). For the passage referred to see p. 28 line 179f.

4 The phrase *ki.du₁₀* "good place" is well attested in Early Dynastic personal names, and the name *en.ki.du₁₀.ga* "lord of the good place" is cited from the Fara tablet VAT 12531 ii by A. Deimel, *Die Inschriften von Fara III* (40. *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 1922) p. 31*. It is no argument against this etymology that the name is not construed as a genitive construction in the Sumerian epics. The grammatical elements of a personal name are not necessarily taken up in the sentence already in the later third millennium.

5 F.A.M. Wiggermann, in working on the first-millennium clay figurines and related rituals, has discovered that in this material the human-looking figure with six curls is the Lahmu ('Exit Talim!'

Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux 27 (1981-82) 90-105). This fits the artificial Sumerian equivalent of the Akkadian *lahmu* (in real Sumerian *la.ħa.ma* is written) in a bilingual text of Tukulti-Ninurta I: *LÚ X SÍG.SUD* ('MAN X LONG HAIR': see the present writer in *Iraq* 38 90 obv. 11). On this basis everything hangs together. In texts there is a plurality of Lahmus, associated with the 'sea' or 'Apsû', and forming Enki's constabulary in Sumerian myths. On Akkadian seals there is also a plurality of these heroes, who hold the 'gate post' in association with Enki/Ea (see e.g. R.M. Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit* (*Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, 4, 1965), Abb. 488, 499-502). The association of Enki is confirmed by Old Babylonian terracottas showing this hero holding a jar from which streams of water flow, and the same hero holds the flowing jar to water two buffaloes on the well-known Akkad seal of Ibni-Šarrum (e.g. [P. Amiet], *Bas-Reliefs imaginaires de l'Ancien Orient* (exhibition catalogue, Hôtel de la Monnaie, Paris, June-October 1973) no. 231).

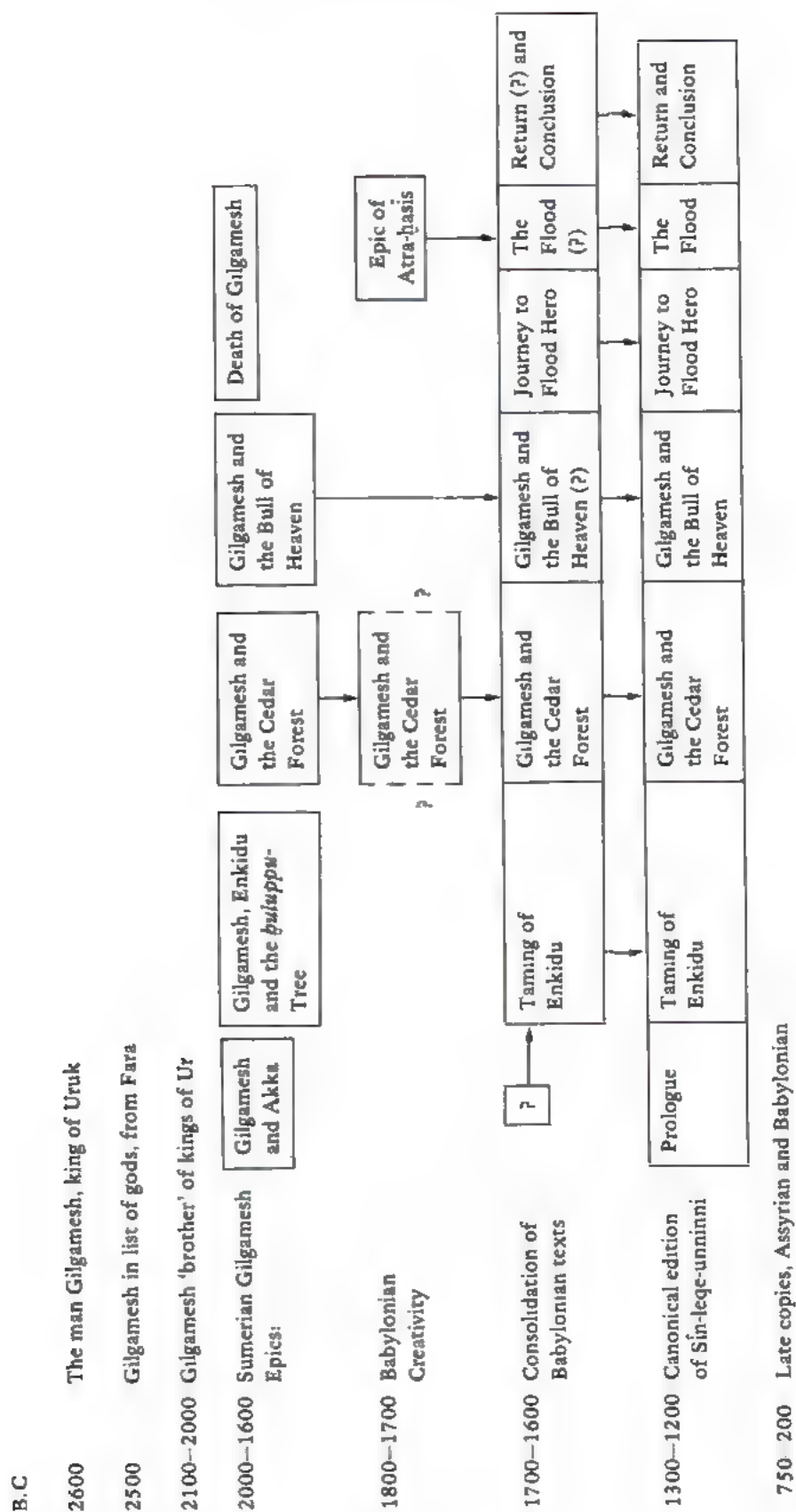
In contrast, there is second- and first-millennium material in art where it appears virtually certain that two scenes with Gilgamesh are shown, one with a demon, the other with a monster. Each of these two scenes has been so interpreted before,⁶ though on the basis of assertions without systematic comparison of the art and literature, and with the inclusion of items that hardly stand up to critical scrutiny. Also, the most comprehensive of such treatments is a little known article, though as recent as 1970. Our treatment will begin with the more explicit literary material. The accompanying chart is very much oversimplified, but the essentials can be found on it.⁷ There are five independent Sumerian Gilgamesh epics, which do not form a cycle. To our knowledge they circulated in writing from about 2000 to 1600 B.C., after which period they were lost, save for a Babylonian translation of *Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the huluppu-Tree*, the second half of which survived into the first millennium, and scribes, not knowing what to do with it, added it as an appendix to the final version of the composite Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. These five epics may have existed in writing in the third millennium, but so far there is no proof, but if there were no written stories about this hero over the second half of that millennium, then obviously there must have been oral traditions.

Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the huluppu-Tree is pure mythology, and ends with Enkidu trapped in the nether world, and Gilgamesh, like Odysseus, communicating with him to ascertain the conditions of life down below. In contrast *Gilgamesh and Akka* reads like an

This seal raises the question that on many Akkadian seals the same hero is grappling with buffaloes, lions and similar animals, and that alongside him a 'bull-man' is doing the same. In these contexts there is no demonstrable connection with Enki/Ea, and it could be argued that in these contexts therefore the same artistic type represents an entirely different mythological figure, perhaps Gilgamesh. There is of course no law against speculation, but in view of the quantity of mythology on Akkadian seals so far totally unknown from written sources (e.g. the "winged gate" and the Bird-man before Enki/Ea), it is unwise to push a particular interpretation *faute de mieux*. *A priori* it is more likely that one common figure in the art of one and the same period and area represented one, and not two totally different mythological figures, and not enough is known of the Lahmu in the Akkad period to affirm that he could not occur in contest scenes. In any case this one figure cannot be considered without taking in account related figures. We express no opinion on the identity of this figure in Early Dynastic times. The archaeological evidence is summed up by R.H. Boehmer, art. *Held, Reallexikon der Assyriologie* IV (1972-75) 294ff., but there seems to be not the least shred of written evidence from the Early Dynastic periods that is pertinent.

6 D. Opitz set off discussion by his article, 'Der Tod des Humbaba' (*Archiv für Orientforschung* 5 (1929) 207ff.), based on the Berlin terracotta, and E. Porada first drew attention to the same scene in Mitanni glyptic (*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 24 (1947) pp. 60 and 70). The fullest summaries of the materials and opinions expressed about this scene are those of P. Calmeyer in *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 1 (1970) 81ff. and in his *Reliefbronzes in babylonischem Stil* (München, 1973) 165ff. R. Opificius, in addition to dealing with the fall of Huwawa, presented the case for identifying another scene with the slaying of the Bull of Heaven, in 'Gilgamesch und Enkidu in der bildenden Kunst,' in *Hundert Jahre Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* II (1970) 286-292, a publication which seems to have had very limited circulation. The present writer independently reached his conclusion about the Bull of Heaven, and only later made his acquaintance with this article, thanks to Edith Porada.

7 For more detail see J.H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia, 1982), which is generally reliable.



epic presentation of an actual historical struggle between Gilgamesh' town Uruk and the town Kish. *Gilgamesh and the Cedar Forest* similarly reads as though there is an historical kernel within it: an account of a freebooting expedition to obtain cedar wood for the town Uruk. It begins with Gilgamesh conceiving a fear of death as he noted a body floating down the river. In consequence he desired to do some great deed by which he would be remembered after his death. He knew of a remote mountain, guarded by a demonic guard *Huwawa* (later written *Humbaba*), on which cedars grew. He was not dissuaded by warnings of the dangers, so set out accompanied by Enkidu and some young men of the city. Eventually they reached the forest, overcame *Huwawa* by trickery, and Enkidu actually thrust in the sword with which the demon's head was cut off.⁸ Thus the expedition was brought to a successful conclusion. *Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven* is pure mythology, but badly preserved. If one is entitled to fill in gaps in the Sumerian from the later Babylonian version, a quarrel arises between Gilgamesh and Inanna, goddess of the town of Uruk, so she gets a supernatural bull sent down to earth to savage the city of the offending hero. But Gilgamesh and Enkidu prove equal to the occasion and in due course kill the bull. *The Death of Gilgamesh* is also pure mythology, apart from possibly reflecting the burial customs of the time, and explains how Gilgamesh arrived in the nether world. It too is badly preserved.

Of these five Sumerian stories only two were taken over in the Babylonian versions of the Epic of Gilgamesh, namely *Gilgamesh and the Cedar Forest* and *Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven*. The former is first attested in Babylonian, in copies from Tell Harmal near Baghdad and Ishchali in the Diyala region, dating from the first half of the 18th century B.C. They seem to come from widely differing recensions, and the big question is whether they contained only the story of *Gilgamesh and the Cedar Forest* or embraced more of what was to be the later canonical Babylonian edition. The present writer suspects they were simply free recountings of the one Sumerian story, but he could be wrong. In either case, there was in due course the Babylonian story, which arose from putting the two Sumerian stories in sequence, with material of other origins prefixed and appended. This bald statement does not of course give any indication of the literary genius involved. From simple heroic tales the Babylonian author constructed a cycle of Gilgamesh stories with the fear of death running as a thread to the end. The original heroic tales were converted into a tragedy which is still moving for any human heart that is sensitive to literature.

The taming of Enkidu, the first narrative after the prologue in the Babylonian story, is based on a tradition of a man who grew up among wild animals without human company. No doubt this was once entirely independent of any Gilgamesh tradition, and was brought in to this cycle by making Enkidu the wild man. Accordingly he was created by the gods to be a rival for Gilgamesh, who was oppressing his citizens with his excess of strength and energy. In a psychologically very perceptive narrative, Enkidu is brought from the wilds to civilization through a prostitute, and in Uruk he meets Gilgamesh, with whom he fights

⁸ See J. J. A. van Dijk apud P. Garelli (ed.), *Gilgamesh et sa légende* (Paris, 1960), p. 71 lines 97–98. The cuneiform text is given in J. J. A. van Dijk, *Cuneiform Texts (Texts in the Iraq Museum II, Wiesbaden, 1965) no. 4*. The first sign of the corresponding line in the text published by S. N. Kramer in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 1 (1947)

22 166 is, on collation (courtesy Å. W. Sjöberg), certainly not *nam*, but may be *gú*, and there is a variant in the line for the verb: *im.ma.an.ku₅.ru-na* and *im.ma.an.ku₅*. The present writer has not seen the text of this epic being prepared by A. Shaffer from much new material.

over the latter's exercise of the *ius primae noctis*. After the fight is over, they become close friends. Here is one major difference between the Sumerian and Babylonian tales. In the Sumerian, Enkidu is Gilgamesh's servant; in the Babylonian he is Gilgamesh's equal and comrade. Having introduced Enkidu in this way, the Babylonian author now inserts *Gilgamesh and the Cedar Forest*. Gilgamesh conceives a fear of death, he wishes to achieve the immortality of fame by doing some great deed, and so forth. The main difference in substance is that at the end Gilgamesh, urged on by Enkidu, actually killed Huwawa. The Ishchali tablet states:

*Gilgamesh heard the word of his friend.
He took an axe in his hand,
He drew a sword from his belt,
Gilgamesh struck the neck,
Enkidu his friend gave encouragement.⁹*

So, up to this point, the story is still a simple heroic tale of a great deed done. But the author used this as a beginning only. He next brings in the story of *Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven*, with modifications. After the success of the journey to the cedar forest, Gilgamesh returns to Uruk and walks in procession through the streets. But Ishtar, goddess of the town, falls for this handsome young man and proposes marriage. Gilgamesh knows the fates of her previous spouses, and so necessarily declines, but, elated by his recent success, he falls victim to what the Classical Greeks termed *hybris*, something like arrogance toward the divine powers in the universe. His refusal is not made with the tact appropriate when dealing with a headstrong goddess, but is full of insult and abuse. So she gets the Bull of Heaven sent down to earth to wreak vengeance on Gilgamesh and Uruk. He and Enkidu took up the challenge and killed it. The passage (VI 150–152) is damaged, but it seems that the *coup de grâce* was administered by Gilgamesh, though with abundant practical help from Enkidu. The exact point where the sword was pushed in is almost preserved: "between the neck, the horns, and . . ." Unfortunately the third delimitation of the point is so far lost.

The gods met to consider the actions of Gilgamesh and Enkidu and it was decided that Enkidu must die. This he did, and then Gilgamesh comes face to face with death as he had not before. Whereas previously he was content to think that his fame could outlive him, now his fear of death is so intense that nothing less than personal immortality will satisfy him. The Babylonian author has skilfully intensified the basic theme and converted what began as a heroic tale into a tragedy. The hero, when he had calmed down from wild ravings, thought of the survivor of the great flood, who lived far away. He was the only man so far to have achieved personal immortality. So off Gilgamesh sets, to find the secret of immortality from Uta-napishtim. We cannot here follow him, but eventually, after overcoming many obstacles, he reached the end of his mission, but had to face the truth, that only the gods live for ever. He returned to Uruk, forced to be content with the satisfaction of knowing that his achievements would not be forgotten.

⁹ S. Greengus, *Old Babylonian Tablets from Ishchali and Vicinity* (Leiden, 1979), pl. xcii no. 277 rev. 1–5.

Most probably the whole of the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic as just summarised did exist by the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon, c. 1600 B.C. Though not all of it survives in copies of that period, the surviving pieces would, from a literary standpoint, be frequently meaningless and inept without their gaps filled from the later canonical version, attributed by Babylonian scholarly texts to a scribe of Uruk, Šin-leqe-unninni. By about 1100 B.C. that version had ousted all others so that it alone survived into the first millennium. Even if this view is not accepted, there is little difference for the purpose of comparison with the two scenes known from art: it is only a question of whether the full Babylonian compilation was made earlier or later in the second millennium.

Any attempted comparison of texts and pictures must of course be made with a good measure of skepticism. The ancient artists and their clients drew from their backgrounds a range of mythology and legend far greater than that to which even the best-read modern scholar can claim. Although we may feel that some ancient depiction must refer to what we happen to know from those ancient texts which have come down to us by the accidents of discovery, such a feeling must be supported by exhaustive knowledge of the comparable surviving material considered from every angle. Otherwise the subject may become ridiculous, and for many years some have refused on principle to give names to any ancient figures, since such identifications could be wrong. The rest of this paper is intended as an antidote to this attitude.

The first item for consideration is the terracotta plaque in the Berlin Museum (Plate VII, fig. 1).¹⁰ A monstrous creature in the centre—a strange face and long hair, feline paws and a bird's talons for feet—is being killed by two human-looking figures, the one on the left bearded, the one on the right not. Both are holding down the monster with their feet, the bearded one also grips a paw while the beardless one holds the monster's long hair and is about to drive his sword into the creature's neck. A smaller figure, as if in the background, stands at the far left. It is proposed as a working hypothesis for the moment to interpret this scene as showing bearded Gilgamesh and beardless Enkidu killing Huwawa. Three points combine to refer this to the Sumerian rather than the Babylonian version. First, the extra figure. In the Sumerian text young men of the town Uruk accompany Gilgamesh and Enkidu on the trip. The Babylonian text says nothing about any such escort and clearly implies that the two heroes were alone. Secondly, in the Sumerian text Enkidu is Gilgamesh's servant and so would look different, while the Babylonian text stresses how similar they were, identical save that Gilgamesh was a little taller. Thirdly, in the Sumerian Enkidu puts in the knife, which act Gilgamesh does in the Babylonian version. However, the differences from the written Gilgamesh stories must not be overlooked. Neither Sumerian nor Babylonian versions so far as preserved refer to the use of feet to pin down the monster.¹¹ Neither

10 VA 7246, see D. Opitz, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 5 (1928/9) 207ff., and (from another negative?) *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 14 (Berlin, 1975) pl. 186a.

11 R. Opificius, *op. cit.* 287, interprets this action otherwise: "auch bei zeitgenössischen Szenen pflegt der Fürst seinem besiegten Gegner den Fuss auf den Körper zu setzen," referring to the Old Babylonian victory stele, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 7 (1910) pls. v–vi. One must, however, dis-

tinguish between placing the foot on the body of a fallen victim as a gesture of victory when the real battle is over (seen also on Old Babylonian terracottas, e.g. R. Opificius, *Das altbabylonische Terrakottarelieff* (*Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, 2, 1961), no. 480; A. Parrot, *Iraq* 31 (1969) pl. viii a–b; and in contemporary glyptic: *idem, loc. cit.* c and *Mission archéologique de Mari II, Le Palais* (Paris, 1959), iii, *Documents et Monuments*, pp. 169–185) and

version details Huwawa's long hair. However, these matters are not fatal objections to the identification being proposed, and will be considered further below. To judge from style, the only available criterion, this plaque is Old Babylonian in date, somewhere between c. 2000 and c. 1600 B.C.

This same scene appears later on cylinder seals. Impressions of a seal on a Nuzi tablet (Plate VII, fig. 2)¹² show the same two figures, though on opposite sides as compared with the clay plaque, both, as before, holding down the monster with their feet, and, as before, the younger-looking one using his sword. There is a difference in that the younger-looking one is not holding the monster's hair. The style of this seal is typical Mitanni, and even if it were an heirloom bequeathed to the person for whom it was rolled on the Nuzi tablets it could hardly be older than c. 1500 B.C. Thus it was cut after the Sumerian text had been lost. If the engraver had any literary basis either he used a Babylonian version not known to us, or he was not bothered about who actually did the killing. However, most likely the engraver depended on an artistic tradition with oral explanation. First-millennium seals are somewhat more abundant. One in Assyrian linear style (Plate VII, fig. 3)¹³ shows the same basic scene: the two figures hold down the monster with their feet and—both this time—by the hair which hangs in two locks either side of the face, while the less important one is about to drive in his sword. In this case they are distinguished by both length of beard and by dress. The figure we take as Gilgamesh is clad in robes normally worn by gods in the art of this period. If the small figure to the right is really part of the scene, it suggests the Sumerian version, but on seals juxtaposition does not necessarily guarantee participation. Another Assyrian linear style seal of about the same date (Plate VII, fig. 4),¹⁴ but lacking the bottom part and worn, while clearly in the same tradition does not allow similar specification due to its condition. The engraving on a situla of Luristan type (Plate VII, fig. 5),¹⁵ no doubt dating from the earlier part of the first millennium B.C., also belongs to this tradition and is important in that the designs on such objects are generally based on Babylonian rather than Assyrian models. The only comment needed here is that the better-dressed figure, Gilgamesh as we take him, is now about to cut off the head of the fallen being, who in this case is depicted very little differently from Enkidu. This version of who struck the final blow is repeated in a fine Neo-Assyrian drilled style seal (Plate VII, fig. 6),¹⁶ where, further, both

placing the feet on arms and legs of a victim while the battle is still on. Further, later versions of the scene under discussion (see below) show the arms and legs of the attacking heroes intertwined with those of the victim, clearly having understood the older version as showing the legs of the heroes being used to restrain the victim. See still further footnote 35a below.

12 The impressions on the tablet VAT 6039 have been published in one drawing only, first in O. Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder* (Leipzig, 1920), no. 268a, reproduced by H. J. Kantor, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 21 (1962) 115 fig. 19B. See also E. Porada, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 24 (1947) nos. 768–773, which show similar but less well preserved scenes

13 E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections* 1, *The Collections of the Pierpont Morgan Library* ([New York], 1948), no. 686

14 Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, MM 1956-122, reproduced before by H.H. von der Osten, *Medelhavsmuseet, Bulletin* 1 (1961) 27 no. 13

15 P. Calmeyer, *Reliefbronzen im babylonischen Stil*. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., phil. hist. Kl. N.F., Heft 73 (München, 1973) p. 45. P. Calmeyer, *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 1 (1970) 81ff.

16 M. Noveck, *The Mark of Ancient Man. Ancient Near Eastern Stamp Seals and Cylinder Seals. The Gorelick Collection* (Brooklyn Museum Catalogue, 1975) no. 41. Cf. P. Amiet, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 100 (1980) 186

Gilgamesh and Enkidu hold Huwawa's hair. In this case it is very doubtful whether the extra small figure is meant as part of the scene. He is the common worshipper figure in cultic settings of this period, used as a filler here. This seal probably dates from c. 800–700 B.C. A fine, modelled style seal excavated at Assur (Plate VIII, fig. 7)¹⁷ needs no comment beyond the drawing of attention to the big, round face surrounded by hair. It is probably a little later than the previous one, say c. 750–650 B.C. Still another Neo-Assyrian modelled style cylinder of about the same date (Plate VIII, fig. 8)¹⁸ is very similar, though there is less hair. The extra figure in this case, a worshipper, is part of a separate scene, having the spade of Marduk and the stylus of Nabû to which he directs his devotions.

To sum up, it will not be doubted that this material attests one artistic tradition, and since it all comes from areas where the continuity in cultural matters is well known for the periods involved, it is hard to suppose that there was more than one understanding of the scene during these periods and within these areas. The unusual features of the scene are, first, the active participation of two heroes in the slaying of the monster. In ancient Mesopotamia most such episodes, as with Ningirsu/Ninurta, Marduk and Tišpak, involve a single hero. Secondly, it is curious that of these two the least senior as depicted has the honour of finishing off the monster, at least in the earlier examples, but the later specimens (without there being a break in the tradition) show the more senior figure completing the victory by killing the monster. All these unusual features are explained by the assumption that the scene from the Gilgamesh Epic is depicted. The earlier artistic representations depend on the Sumerian form of the story as we know it, and the change early in the first millennium reflects a move to the Babylonian version on the part of the artists. It seems extremely unlikely to the present writer that there could have been any other narrative, written or oral, over these centuries with precisely these peculiarities, of which no trace has yet been discovered in written remains. The differences, or rather details of the depictions which do not occur in the written Gilgamesh stories, the long hair of Huwawa and the holding down of this creature with the feet of Gilgamesh and Enkidu, can be explained along with the very different versions of Huwawa in the examples just presented. If the artists, starting in the Old Babylonian period, were illustrators of an oral and written story, lacking any iconographical tradition for this scene, then it is understandable that they would have improvised from originally unrelated iconographic motifs.¹⁹ Thus the Akkadian hero with six locks, originally the Lahmu, becomes in this tradition not Gilgamesh but Huwawa.

17 A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* (Berlin, 1940) no. 608.

18 BM 89763, previously published in drawing by W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, 1910), no. 644. The inscription, in Assyrian cuneiform, reads: *šá mdMAŠ.PAP.PAP* "Property of Ninurta-aḫa-ušur" (or, "of Ninurta-nāšir-aḫi"). For completeness, note the faience cylinder seal of first-millennium date from Nippur, D. E. McCown and R. C. Haines, *Nippur I* (*Oriental Institute Publications* 78) pl. 113 no. 13. It certainly attests the scene under discussion, but is too crudely executed to offer any light. Opificius, *Hundert Jahre Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropo-*

logie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte 11 (Berlin, 1970) 289, cites for this same scene the Akkadian cylinder R. M. Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung* (see footnote 5), Abb. 482, where two identically clad heroes (the apparent difference in headgear seems to be due to damage alone) hold a third hero (differently attired), already down on one knee, by beard and hair. This cannot be reconciled with the Sumerian tradition of Gilgamesh and Enkidu as master and slave, and the defeated figure has no features which suggest a demon. So there is no basis for interpreting this scene as one with Gilgamesh.

19 The Berlin terracotta shows two clear and

There is indeed a variant artistic tradition which confirms this suggestion. As before, it is first attested on an Old Babylonian terracotta (Plate VIII, fig. 9a,b)²⁰ of which several incomplete examples were excavated at Larsa, not, unfortunately, allowing a full reconstruction. The scene as a whole requires no general clarification, but three details should be stressed. First, the Akkadian hero is very clearly here the prototype of Huwawa, note the girdle around his waist. Secondly, due to the loss of the upper parts of the figure on the left it is impossible to see whether the two heroes are distinguished, and whether, if they were distinguished, it is Gilgamesh or Enkidu who is thrusting in the sword. Thirdly, the landscape is indicated here. The wavy line at the bottom indicates mountainous terrain. The tree trunk and the curling object hanging beside it are fascinating. The latter could be a snake, but if so it is unhelpful. The top of the tree on the other side (on a fragment placed there without absolute certainty) need not belong to a cedar. Though 'cedar' is the usual translation of the Sumerian *eren* and Akkadian *erinnu*, written sources indicate only that it yielded timber suitable for roofing beams, that it had a pleasant aroma, and that it was a

distinct influences. The lion's paws and eagle's talons derive from the Mesopotamian tradition of the *mušbušu*, the monster known from Old Akkadian to Late Babylonian art, most clearly depicted in enamelled bricks on the walls of Babylon as rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar II (see the present writer in *Cahiers du Centre d'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien* 2 (Leuven, 1985) 87ff. Sumerian literary texts specify a monster (*ušumgal*) as having "a lion's paws and talons of an eagle" (*šū pirig-gá umbin hu.rí.in(mulien).na*), once as a poetic description of the god Ninurta (H. Radau, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Series A: Cuneiform Texts*, 29/1 (1911) 4 rev. 3ff.), once to describe the leader of seven "heroes" at Utu's disposal when Gilgamesh' journey to the cedar mountain was being planned (*Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 1 (1947) 10 37). However, the face of the monster on the terracotta seems to have been influenced, if only at second hand, by the Egyptian Bes, as has been noted for the Huwawa faces of the masks. E. Porada has drawn my attention to Near Eastern examples of Bes figures: the bone plaque found "in der tiefsten Schicht der hethitischen Periode" at Alaca Höyük (H.Z. Kosay, *Ausgrabungen von Alaca Höyük* (Ankara, 1966), p. 31 and pl. xlv, A1/a 88), and the limestone statuette found in the "dépôt d'offrandes de la pro-cella du temple aux obélisques (levée XVIII)" at Byblos (M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos II* (Paris, 1950-58), p. 767 and pl. xcv, no. 15377). On Near Eastern Bes figures generally, see V. Wilson, *Levant* 7 (1975) 77-103, and for the present

interest pp. 83-84 especially.

20 Photographs of four partly overlapping pieces are given by A. Parrot in *Syria* 45 (1968) 230 (two of them also in *Iraq* 31 (1969) pl. ix a), of which only one, the upper piece in the photograph, is now in Paris (AO 22.579), the others are presumably in Baghdad. However, on the previous page in *Syria*, 229, there is a photograph of five pieces of terracottas which could be related. In particular the bust on the far left may well overlap the figure on the right of the reconstructed slaying of Huwawa, and this will then supply a tree to the right of the scene to match that on the left. Our reconstruction is based on this assumption, though without having all the pieces together there can be no absolute assurance that this is correct. The other pieces shown in *Syria* 45 (1968) 229 seem to be connected, but may show at least two other scenes apart from the slaying of Huwawa. The piece at the top left, though on the same scale as the one with Huwawa, is probably not part of it in view of the extra levels of mountain indicated. The piece in the lower centre shows two human-looking figures on a much smaller scale than the other pieces, one either side of (apparently) three sloping tree trunks joined by ropes at their bases (part of the gate of the forest according to some). This cannot be part of the same scene as any other of the pieces with human-looking figures because of the scale. One may wonder whether these unique pieces of terracottas are not the remnants of a series of illustrations of this episode.

source of incense. It has already been suggested in another connection²¹ that it was in fact pine.

Until the missing parts of the terracotta are found we have to allow the possibility that the two heroes were identically depicted, following the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic, because of later examples of this scene with this feature. A Mitanni seal (Plate VIII, fig. 10)²² shows in the minor scene two identical heroes with the demon on one knee between them. The engraver was not too particular about details: each hero has one foot raised, but while the left-hand one is firmly placed on the demon's left leg, the right-hand one is poised in mid-air. Also the three curls either side of the face have been reduced to one, which each hero is meant to be gripping, though the fists do not overlap the curls but are merely juxtaposed. However, the character of the scene is in no doubt. A Nuzi seal impression (Plate VIII, fig. 11)²³ shows two identical heroes about to kill the demon, whose six locks have slipped down the body. The heroes are still using their feet to pin down the victim, but since he is standing upright one may suspect that the curls were lowered so that the feet could be inserted in them. Only so could the raised legs of the tradition hold tight an upright figure. Due to the incompleteness of the impressions it is not certain what the raised hands are doing. In later examples of this tradition, all from outside Mesopotamia, the raised hands are either gripping bunches of hair or are stabbing the head. These are from the famous gold bowl of Hasanlu (Plate IX, fig. 12)²⁴, stone reliefs from Tell Halaf (Plate IX, fig. 13)²⁵ and Carchemish (Plate IX, fig. 14)²⁶, these three from early in the first millennium, then from the centrepiece of a bronze platter from Nimrud (Plate IX, fig. 15)²⁷ in somewhat Neo-Hittite style, from the outer band of engraving of another Nimrud bronze platter (Plate X, fig. 16)²⁸ in more 'Phoenician' style, and from a Nimrud ivory plaque (Plate X, fig. 17)²⁹ in the same style, these last three perhaps a century or two later than the first three. While the continuity in the artistic tradition is very obvious, one may feel less certain about the attribution in these examples. The Mitanni and Nuzi seals may well have been understood as showing the slaying of Huwawa, but the examples from Western Iran, Anatolia and Syria might have been transferred to myths or legends of those areas so that the original associa-

21 George Smith regularly translated this word by "pine," and more recently J. Hansman in *Iraq* 38 (1976) 23ff. has argued for this. If the tree on the right of the reconstruction of the terracotta from Larsa is in place, this is further reason for re-examining the question, because the depicted tree is not certainly a cedar.

22 BM 89569, drawn to my attention by D. Collon. It perhaps dates to the 14th century B.C.

23 Photo: E. Porada, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 24 (1947) pl. xxxvii no. 728; drawing: *op. cit.* pl. liii 728 and H. J. Kantor, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 21 (1962) 115 fig. 19A. The latter is reproduced here. For other related Mitanni impressions on Nuzi tablets see E. Porada, *op. cit.* nos. 729, 768-773; O. Weber, *op. cit.* no. 267; P. Amiet, *Cahiers de Byrsa* 7 (1957) pl. xix no. 110b.

24 I. J. Winter, *A Decorated Breast-plate from Hasanlu, Iran*. University Museum Monograph 39 (Philadelphia, 1980) fig. 74. E. Porada, *Ancient Iran* (London, 1965) p. 98.

25 M. von Oppenheim et al., *Tell Halaf III* (Berlin, 1955) pl. 102, A 3, 176.

26 D. G. Hogarth, *Carchemish I* (London, 1914) pl. B 15.

27 A. H. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh II* (London, 1853) pl. 65 = R. D. Barnett apud *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne*, Colloque de Strasbourg 22-24 mai 1958 (Paris, 1960), pl. iv b.

28 A. H. Layard, *op. cit.* pl. 61 = R. D. Barnett, *Iraq* 2 (1935) 202-203; now numbered N 65.

29 M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains II* (London, 1966) p. 537 pl. 457.

tion with Gilgamesh was lost. Interaction between these variant traditions so far described can be seen in the engraving on the side of a stamp seal in Babylonian style but of unknown provenance, probably dating from about the middle of the first millennium (Plate X, fig. 18).³⁰ It shows two identical heroes killing the figure between them but they are both clad in the robes of divinity which are worn by Gilgamesh on the first-millennium seals and situla which differentiate Gilgamesh and Enkidu.

Syria has its own version of this scene in the second quarter of the second millennium B.C., attested on three cylinder seals. The one (Plate X, fig. 19)³¹ shows the hero with six locks being overpowered by a single warrior who is pulling him down by his hair. Two dogs (one mostly chipped off) are barking at the victim. The second one (Plate X, fig. 20)³² is extremely similar except that an archer in addition is present, pointing his mounted arrow toward the half-down victim. The other (Plate X, fig. 21)³³ shows the same two main figures, but also, on a smaller scale between them, an archer and a creature with (apparently) human body but lion's head. The dogs and the archer have not yet appeared in any literary version of the slaying of Huwawa, so again it may be that the Mesopotamian artistic tradition was used in this case for a local myth or legend. Clark Hopkins in 1934³⁴ demonstrated that this scene of Mesopotamian origin was the source of Aegean depictions of Perseus slaying the Gorgon: the original Huwawa (himself an improvisation) in some form reached the Aegean and was there turned into the Gorgon. Curiously a cylinder seal in Cypriot style purchased by the Germans in Baghdad in 1886/87 (Plate XI, fig. 22)³⁵ is one of the many examples of this Aegean adaptation.

The other scene from the Gilgamesh Epic to be found in Mesopotamian art is the killing of the Bull of Heaven. There seem to be two sure examples only from the second millennium.^{35a} A seal impression from Nuzi (Plate XI, fig. 23)³⁶ shows a winged bull with human

30 M. de Clercq, *Collection de Clercq* II (Paris, 1903) pl. VII 30 bis.

31 O. White Muscarella (ed.), *Ladders to Heaven* p. 245. An incomplete impression from Alalakh (D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh*, pp. 4–5 and pl. lx no. 2) shows at the bottom right a human-looking figure grappling with the Akkadian hero with six curls. This certainly seems to be a further Syrian example of the scene under discussion, though what remains is closer to its presumed Babylonian original than the other Syrian examples. It would be even closer if one were free to assume that a matching attacker occurred on the right of the Akkadian hero where the impression breaks off. A seal in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts reproduced by H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939) pl. xlii c, shows two standing figures attacking a third between them, but the details are so different from the other Syrian and Babylonian examples of this scene that we hesitate to press it in this context.

32 From the Collection Poche; photo in O.

Weber, *op. cit.* no. 268; D. van Buren, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 11 (1936/7) p. 13, fig. 21.

33 H. Seyrig, *Syria* 40 (1963) pl. xxi 1 (photo); P. Amiet, *Orientalia* 45 (1976) 27 (drawing from photo).

34 *American Journal of Archaeology* 38 (1934) 341–358.

35 A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* (Berlin, 1940) no. 781

35a D. Opitz (*Archiv für Orientforschung* 5 (1928/9) 212), apparently supported by R. Opificius, *Hundert Jahre* (see footnote 18) p. 291, interpreted an Old Babylonian terracotta plaque, R. Opificius, *Das altbabylonische Terrakottarelie* (see footnote 11) no. 496, as showing Gilgamesh and Enkidu grappling with the Bull of Heaven. However, the bull bears no mark of heavenly origin, and while the two heroes are distinguished by size, a larger and a smaller, so that they could be meant for Gilgamesh and Enkidu, the larger is holding the bull's horn while the smaller is gripping its tail. In the only textual material for com-

face slumped down on its front paws as a standing figure drives a sword into its head and another holds its tail from behind. The two figures are similarly dressed, but only the one stabbing the bull wears the horned crown of divinity. The details are not too clear. A very similar scene is portrayed on a Middle Assyrian seal known only from the impression on VAT 9082 (KAJ 8), published in a drawing by T. Beran (Plate XI, fig. 24).³⁷ It is less fully

parison, the final Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic, at two separate stages in the fight Enkidu grabbed first the horn (VI 131) and later the tail (VI 147–148). The passage is not completely preserved, but Gilgamesh does neither act in this way in the surviving text. So on present knowledge this terracotta cannot be affirmed to show a scene from any Gilgamesh epic. Opificius herself, *Hundert Jahre* pp. 288–289, rejects such an interpretation of an Early Dynastic II seal, P. Delougaz, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 27 (1968) 191 fig. 14 (= AO 10920, photo in [P. Amiet], *Bas-reliefs imaginaires* (see footnote 5) p. 65 no. 210). In the lower register two similar heroes (only eyes and hair depicted differently) confront a human-headed quadruped: the one in front grips the creature's beard, the one in the rear holds the tail. The objection raised is that the quadruped is more feline than bovine, and it could be added that the date of the seal is so close to the historical Gilgamesh that there can be doubt whether he would be depicted in a mythological scene, and that we have no evidence for his association with Enkidu or his killing of the Bull of Heaven at this period. However, Opificius is prepared to consider the Akkadian cylinder seal H. Frankfort, *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region* (Oriental Institute Publications 72, 1955), no. 695 (from Tell Asmar) in this connection. Two heroes grapple with an ordinary-looking bull as a bird of prey joins in the attack. According to Frankfort the figures are "two crowned deities, one kilted and one nude but for girdle." On the photograph one seems to wear a flat cap while the other seems to be bare-headed, and both seem to wear a kilt. However, the lack of anything special about the bull and the presence of the attacking eagle (unknown in texts about Gilgamesh) are opposed to taking this as a Gilgamesh scene. Of the other bull-slaying scenes on Akkadian seals, all conveniently collected by R.M. Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung* (see footnote 5), Abb. 356–361 and 364, figs. 359 and 360, where a single god is attacking (in 359 by shooting, in 360 with a mace)

an ordinary bull on a mountain, can be rejected out of hand as not showing a scene outside the walls of Uruk. Similarly fig. 364, showing a single god dispatching an ordinary bull, has no ground to be considered further here. This leaves three seals where two figures are jointly killing a normal bull. In fig. 361 the apparently dead animal is rolled over on its back and held by a smaller human from the rear and a larger human at the front end, who is apparently about to cut off its head with a sword, while an eagle hovers above the carcass. The distinction in size between the two humans would agree with the conceptions of Gilgamesh and Enkidu in the Sumerian epics, but all the other details bear no relationship. Fig. 358 shows a bull, with a row of eight spears driven into its back, on the point of collapsing, while two apparently human figures, one resting a foot on the bull, are in the process of dispatching it. The clothing of the two figures seems to be distinct, but the poor condition of the seal prevents closer observation. Again, the details are unrelated to the known Gilgamesh story. Finally, in fig. 356 a god holds the bull at the head and a smaller, apparently human figure grips its tail. Here there is a tree and other vegetation as a deliberate background to the conflict, and this hardly then displays a fight outside the walls of Uruk. We have not disproved that one or several of these illustrate a Gilgamesh story, but since not one, clearly, is related to known Gilgamesh stories, caution must be maintained: we do not have any solid evidence to connect these scenes with Gilgamesh. It is striking that in both the Old Babylonian terracotta and in two Akkadian seals one of the two figures is holding a foot on the animal in the attempt to subdue it. Is this motif the origin of the use of feet to help in the subduing of *Huwawa*?

36 E. Porada, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 24 (1947) no. 774.

37 *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 52 (1957) 165 Abb. 40.

preserved than the Nuzi counterpart, but what remains shows the same three figures in the same action, except that the direction of the scene is reversed: the bull's head is to the left, not to the right of its body. The tablet is dated by the *limmu*-officer Abu-ṭāb to the reign of Aššur-uballit I, c. 1363–1328 B.C.,³⁸ so approximately contemporary with the Nuzi tablet, which, naming Tarmi-tilla, belongs to the fourth generation starting from Winnirke.³⁹ These two examples might not by themselves be considered certain representations of the Gilgamesh scene, but the better-preserved first millennium seals with the same scene clinch the matter. A Babylonian cylinder seal from perhaps the 8th or 7th century B.C. (Plate XI, fig. 25),⁴⁰ "property of Qerub-dini-ili, mayor of Raqqatu" (an unidentified town in southern Mesopotamia), as the inscription announces, clearly depicts the same two figures already seen slaying Huwawa, but in this case their victim is the bull with wings and a human face. The less well dressed figure, Enkidu, is holding down the bull by placing his foot on its rump while gripping its wing in one hand. Gilgamesh, who stands in front, may be pinning the bull down with his left foot on its front paw, but in any case he is gripping the head with one hand while stabbing it with the other. Another similar depiction of about the same time and place (Plate XI, fig. 26)⁴¹ shows the knife handle more clearly. The point of the blade's insertion agrees with the wording of the Babylonian Epic as quoted above, "between the neck, the horns, and . . ." A worn Neo-Assyrian linear style cylinder seal perhaps as old as the 9th century (Plate XI, fig. 27)⁴² is an earlier example of this scene. A small cylinder (Plate XI, fig. 28)⁴³ probably from the periphery of Mesopotamia and perhaps dating from

38 C. Saporetti, *Gli eponimi medio-assiri* (Biblioteca Mesopotamica 9, 1979) p. 44.

39 Already stated by E. Porada, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 24 (1947) p. 126 on the authority of P.M. Purves, but see now the full statement of M.P. Maidman, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 28 (1976) 127ff.

40 L. Speleers, *Catalogue des intailles et empreintes orientales des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. Supplément* (Brussels, 1943) p. 121. The inscription reads: *šá mdqé-ru-ub-di-ni-ili en uru šá unraq-qa-ti*. (In the original publication the negative was reversed.) The town Raqqatu was in the heartland of the Bit-Yakin clan as Sargon II captured it after defeating Merodach-baladan at Dūr-Yakin (C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954) 186f. 50–59, cf. A.G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II King of Assyria* (Paris, 1929) p. 58).

41 This seal of bluish chalcedony, 20 x 10 mm., was sold twice at the Hôtel Drouot: 2–4 May, 1973, lot 759, and 25–27 April 1960, lot 96. Present location unknown.

42 Seen on the market (photo only), present location unknown.

43 BM 122130 (1930-10-13, 9), published in *British Museum Quarterly* 5 (1930/31) 98 and pl. 48 b. Another cylinder seal with this scene is M. de

Clercq, *Collection de Clercq* 1 (Paris, 1888) no. 358, assigned by R. Opificius, work cited in footnote 6, p. 291, to the first millennium. It shows the two heroes and bull with wings and human face between. In front stands the more lavishly attired figure apparently stabbing the head of the bull, behind, the less well dressed figure rests his one foot on the animal's rump while holding a weapon aloft. But there is a second winged bull, but with a normal bull's face, above the one being attacked, and there is a third figure, wearing a long robe with vertical fringe and a tall polos on his head, who serves as a terminal, touching the back of each hero. The big problems about this seal are those of area and period of origin. The authors, de Clercq and Menant, classed it under "cylindres de provenance incertaine" (p. 195) and it is certainly not in any well known Mesopotamian style. The cutting is generally flat and there is abundant use of a fine drill. Curiously, *Collection de Clercq* 1 359 is very close in style of cutting, and less close though still similar is a seal in the Foroughi Collection published by E. Porada in *Expedition* 13/3–4 33 1971 fig. 9. Its figures are more rounded. This latter is certainly Iranian, and is attributed to the 14th century, though not on any concrete evidence. The seal *Collection de Clercq* 1 358 is

the second quarter of the first millennium shows even more clearly the insertion of the sword, but Enkidu is missing. As from outside Mesopotamia, this could have been applied to another story of the killing of a supernatural bull, no longer taken as showing Gilgamesh.⁴⁴

In conclusion there are two small matters bearing on the subject. The first is the "face of Huwawa", which is alluded to in texts and depicted in clay.⁴⁵ There is no doubt about the correctness of the common understandings of the facts in this case. Whatever the variations between the various surviving faces of this kind, they are always strange and perhaps fearsome, so that they are indeed prototypes of the Gorgon's face. However, there are substantial differences between them, and the scenes of the slaying of Huwawa do not always show him with such a face. The second matter is the Late Assyrian forms of the hero with six curls as known from the reliefs on the walls of Dur-Sharruken, the new capital of Sargon II. They are shown with a lion under one arm. The Babylonian Epic does allude to Gilgamesh' killing lions.⁴⁶ Thus it has been suggested that these figures are Gilgamesh, or, since they occur in pairs, that they are Gilgamesh and Enkidu.⁴⁷ However, we are not yet convinced even that the Akkadian hero was meant as Gilgamesh, and so we are unwilling to make the same assumption for these much later examples when this artistic motif was certainly used in Late Assyrian times for Huwawa.

Our case for the identifications of these two scenes has already been made, and only two further points need be added. The first is that if one were to ask what episodes of the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic could be presented on cylinder seals, the killing of Huwawa and of the Bull of Heaven are two obvious possibilities. Indeed, in surveying his achievements with Enkidu Gilgamesh in Tablet VIII ii 11-2 selects precisely these two episodes for mention.

perhaps from about the end of the second millennium or the beginning of the first (note the polos), and no doubt belongs to some obscure Iranian style.

44 The same applies to the mythological scene on the stone object of early second-millennium date from Ebla (*Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 14 (Berlin, 1975) pl. 412a) showing a Syrian version of the Akkadian hero with six curls holding from behind the tail of a highly composite monster. Whatever the Mesopotamian identification of this hero, there is no guarantee that it holds for this object found at Ebla.

45 See S. Smith, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 11 (1924) 107ff.; F. Thureau-Dangin, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 22 (1925) 23ff.; C. Wilcke, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 4 (1972-1975) art. *Huwawa/Humbaba*. However, not all the figures that bear a "Huwawa" face in Old Babylonian terracottas can be considered representations of this demon, see M.-T. Barrelet, *Figurines et reliefs en terre cuite de la Mésopotamie antique I* (Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, *Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique*, 85) pp. 195ff. For this reason we do not accept any rel-

evance for Gilgamesh in the Louvre terracotta of Old Babylonian date, said to have come from Tell Asmar, showing a standing male figure on a podium adorned with this face (see M.-T. Barrelet, *op. cit.* no. 831 with comments).

46 Tablet X, BM 34193, line 6, see A. Schott and W. von Soden, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Stuttgart, 1982) p. 80 i 38.

47 For the reliefs see P.E. Botta and E. Flandin, *Monument de Ninive I* (Paris, 1849) pls. 30, 41, 46, 47; E. Strommenger and M. Hirmer, *The Art of Mesopotamia* (London, 1964) pls. 222-223; P. Amiet, *L'Art antique du Proche Orient* (Paris, 1977) pls. 604-605. George Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Creation* (London, 1876) p. 314, and plate facing p. 174 with caption on p. xvi, identified this figure with Gilgamesh, and I.M. Diakonoff (*Bibliotheca Orientalis* 32 (1975) 224) suggested that the two matching sculptures were meant as Enkidu and Gilgamesh. Most recently R. Mayer-Opificius in *Ugarit-Forschungen* 14 (1982) 149 has noted the similarity of attribute—mastery of animals—but offers no suggestion about identification.

Other items in the narratives either would be too difficult to depict or were not specially memorable in themselves. So, since the Gilgamesh Epic was a major Babylonian text,⁴⁸ this factor further confirms our conclusions. The second point is that Gilgamesh lived more firmly in literature than in art. For the total number of cylinder seals very few indeed present the two scenes, and this agrees with the lack of established artistic conventions for them.

Addendum

The very latest occurrence of the Near Eastern motif of Gilgamesh and Enkidu attacking Huwawa occurs on a ring stone whose impression remains on clay in a big collection of such impressions from Achaemenid-period Ur: L. Legrain, *Ur Excavations X, Seal Cylinders*, no. 735. The scene is very clearly derived from such first-millennium examples as our figs. 5–8, note the distinction in dress between the two heroes and the central figure's use of his arms, but the style of cutting is more Greek than Near Eastern. Legrain interpreted the scene as a nude girl playing with two cupids.

48 However, its importance should not be exaggerated. George Smith (*The Chaldean Account of Creation* (London, 1876) 181) considered that Gilgamesh "formed the centre of the national historical poetry, and was the hero of Babylonian cuneiform history," also describing the Gilgamesh Epic as "this great national work" (*op. cit.* p. 283), for reasons totally unacceptable today. B. Landsberger had much less justification to write: "das Gilgameš-Epos ist das babylonische Nationalepos"

(P. Garelli (ed.), *Gilgameš et sa légende* (Paris, 1960) p. 31). To judge from the percentage of the text recovered, the frequency of citation in commentaries and other ancient scholarly texts, the frequency of excerpts on exercise tablets and other such available indications, the Gilgamesh Epic was less popular in the first millennium than *Enûma Eliš* (the so-called Babylonian Epic of Creation) or the Erra Epic.

The Fantastic World of Sumerian Art; Seal Impressions from Ancient Lagash

Donald P. Hansen

This essay presents a group of recently found sealings from the Early Dynastic period of Sumer which are for the most part unpublished. These sealings were found in ancient Lagash and are important in that they represent several styles and are fixed in terms of securely dated findspots. They allow for a further understanding of the stylistic and chronological development of the glyptic of Early Dynastic Sumer. Though the impressions are extremely fragmentary, they are rich in iconographic content which demands some attention and commentary no matter how elusive and cryptic the meaning might be. Before the discussion of the subject matter of the sealings, however, they will be discussed for the contribution which they make to the understanding of the stylistic and chronological development of the glyptic of ancient Sumer.

Lagash, the capital of the city state of Lagash, is the modern site of al-Hiba located today in the south eastern part of Iraq between the other important cities of Girsu (modern Telloh) and Nina (modern Surghul).¹ It is the largest Sumerian city, covering some two square miles, and today is surrounded by marshes on three sides and by a large canal on the fourth. The period of Lagash's greatest geographical extent would have been during the second and third quarter of the third millennium B.C. With the rise of the kingdom of Akkad the city shrank considerably in size, and occupation was restricted to a long north-south ridge where many of the important Sumerian temples were maintained into the Old Babylonian period. It would appear that by the time of the post Akkadian period the residence of the Lagash ruler had moved to the city of Girsu.

The sealings of al-Hiba come mainly from the Areas B and C of the excavations. As far as is known at present Area B contains the *Bagara*, the great temple complex dedicated to Ningirsu. One building furnished with a series of ovens is probably the prototype of what in later times has come to be called the "Kitchen" temple. A copper dagger blade found in a room located to the north of the first courtyard on the west side of Level III was inscribed

1 References to the reports of the excavations of the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University and of The Metropolitan Museum of Art at al-Hiba are cited in the article "Lagash" in the *Real-*

lexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie VI: 5/6: p. 422. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1983.

EARLY DYNASTIC III GLYPHTIC

		LAGASH	UR		GLYPHTIC STYLES
EARLY DYNASTIC I & II	2740				Seal Impression Strata Styles
	2720				
	2700				
	2680				Fara Styles
	2660				
	2640				
	2620				
EARLY DYNASTIC III A	2600				
	2580			Mesilim	"Imdugud-Sukkurru" Styles
	2560	Urnanshe	Meskalamdug		Royal Cemetery Styles
	2540		Akalamdug		
	2520	Akurgal			
EARLY DYNASTIC III B	2500	Eannatum	Mesannepada (Ninbanda) A'annipada		Ur-Lagash Styles
	2480				
	2460	Enannatum I			
	2440	Entemena			
	2420	Enannatum II			
	2400	Enetarzi			
	2380	Lugalanda Uru'inimgina			
	2360				
	2340				

Fig. 1 Early Dynastic chronological chart

and gives the name of the *ensi* Eannatum.² In Area C, quite some distance from the *Bagara*, was a large structure over 100 square meters in size. It was not a temple, but is best termed an administrative complex which seems to have grown as needs demanded without any overall design. In Level IB of the building were found a royal sealing (Plate XIV, fig. 17 a, b) and several tablets bearing the names of Eannatum and Enannatum I dating the level or at least part of it to the time of these rulers (c. 2500–2470 B.C.).³ A cone with the name of Entemena (\pm 2450 B.C.), although found in the surface debris of the building, might indicate that the level lasted into the time of his reign. The impressions when viewed as a whole are by far the best dated group of sealings for the later part of the Early Dynastic period.

The period of concern is the Sumerian Early Dynastic period from ca. 2900 B.C. to ca. 2370 B.C. (Fig. 1). This time span is generally divided into three parts: Early Dynastic I, II, and III. The phases of Early Dynastic I and II are shown without a division on the chart, and the upper limit of Early Dynastic I is not indicated. Early Dynastic III is divided into two parts, an earlier A phase and a later B phase. The chart has an absolute chronology, but the dates for the specific periods and the placement of royal names are only suggestions as no solid evidence is available.⁴

In the right hand column of Figure 1 various glyptic styles are given ranging from Early Dynastic I through Early Dynastic III B. The terminology employed is cumbersome to the specialist and non-specialist alike, but certain of the terms have become so firmly established that at the present time it seems preferable to retain some of these rather than introduce a new system based, for example, on numbers or letters.⁵ No one system of classification is acceptable to all scholars. The terminology is intended to be taken only generally and defines certain groups of seals whose upper and lower chronological limits are not yet known. Each style or styles flowed easily into its successor so that precision is definitely lacking. The complexities of regionalism and possible time lapses are not suggested on the chart.

The earliest group in the Early Dynastic I and II range may be called the "Seal Impression Strata Styles" named after sealings found in dumped layers of debris at Ur. Comparable

2 V. Crawford, "Lagash," *Iraq* 36 (1974), p. 32.

3 R.D. Biggs, *Inscriptions from al-Hiba-Lagash, The First and Second Seasons*. ("Bibliotheca Mesopotamica," 3: p. 1 ff.) Malibu: Undena, 1976.

4 Crucial to the chronology of the Early Dynastic III period is the suggestion that Eannatum and Mesannepada are roughly contemporary. V.H.J. Nissen, *Zur Datierung des Königsfriedhofes von Ur*. Bonn: Habelt, 1966, p. 135 ff. and R.M. Boehmer, "Zur Glyptik zwischen Mesilim- und Akkad-Zeit (Early Dynastic III)," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* N.F. 25. (59) Band. Berlin, 1969, p. 261 f. This places Meskalamdug and Akalamdug of the Royal Cemetery and Urnanshe in the later part of Early Dynastic III A which makes most sense archaeologically and art historically. The "notorious" king of Kish, Mesilim, would have reigned in the earlier part of that period. A similar scheme for ordering the rulers appears in J.

Cooper, *Reconstructing History from Ancient Inscriptions: The Lagash-Umma Border Conflict*, Sources and Monographs on the Ancient Near East, 2/1: p. 80. Malibu: Undena. The chart is given without comment.

5 For the study of Early Dynastic glyptic the following studies are of primary importance:

R.M. Boehmer, "Zur Glyptik zwischen Mesilim- und Akkad-Zeit".

P. Amiet, *La glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque*.

Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1961.

E. Porada, rev. of B. Buchanan, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*. Vol. 1: Cylinder Seals. Oxford: Clarendon, 1966, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XXVII, 1/2 (1970) p. 8 f

E. Porada, *Ancient Art in Seals*. Princeton Univ. Press, 1970, p. 7 ff.

seals and sealings come from Nippur, Fara, Kish, the Diyala region, and Susa, as well as from al-Hiba.⁶ An actual seal found on the surface of the site well represents the class (Plate XII, fig. 2). Echoing an earlier tradition are the confronted bulls with simply defined bodies. Only the line of the haunch is emphasized, but other linear accents are added in the ears and eyes. The animals stand before a plant which has a flower in the form of a rosette on one side. Unlike earlier styles, a characteristic of this glyptic phase is the movement implied in the lion hovering over the bull's backs. The legs, ending in grasping claws, are stretched forth in different directions, and the head with open mouth is folded back completely against the body. Such violently contorted postures and the implied action are relinquished by the seal cutters in favor of upright figures locked into a vertical frieze as is exemplified by a somewhat later seal now in the British Museum (Plate XII, fig. 3).⁷ Although figures grasp animals, there is a feeling of space between the various elements of the composition. The relief is high, yet its forms are relatively flat. A small bird is used as a filling motif within a scene composed of standing bulls and lions whose heads are seen both in profile and from above. The lions are seized by a nude belted heroic figure with vertical locks and by humanized bull men. The head of one bull man is in profile while the partially human head of the other is shown frontally. A common stylistic feature for this phase is the scalloped patterning of the lions' manes.

Approximately contemporary is a sealing from Fara, the site after which the style is named (Plate XII, fig. 4).⁸ Again, there are upright animals, but in this case the lion and bull cross and the heroic figures have different hair-styles. One figure on this seal has two long tufts of hair reminiscent of a jester's cap. An element of the monstrous is introduced in the central figure whose upper body is like that of the adjacent figure, but whose lower body is in the form of two hand-standing lions. Their heads, although schematically rendered, are seen from above and their tails which end in small profile lion heads are grasped by the figure itself.

For the following Early Dynastic III A period the term "Imdugud Sukurru" indicates a seal style contemporary with a group of texts from Fara datable to this phase. The term is usually read now as "Anzu Sud", but the previous name "Imdugud Sukurru" is so firmly associated with a particular style that the older usage is retained here. This style seems to have regional variations.⁹

Plate XII, fig. 5 is an example from Ur where the figures of the animal frieze are more closely interlocked than previously.¹⁰ Shown are crossing lions attacking horned animals whose heads are turned back. An upright dagger is placed in the field between the lions. Beside the main group the field breaks down into two registers with additional lions. The

6 Other than the references cited above in n. 5, for Early Dynastic I seals v. D.P. Hansen, "Some Early Dynastic I Sealings from Nippur," in *Studies Presented to George M.A. Hanfmann*, Philipp von Zabern, 1971, pp. 47-54, and P.R.S. Moorey, "Unpublished Early Dynastic Sealings from Ur in the British Museum," *Iraq* 41 (1979) p. 105 ff.

7 British Museum 89538; E. Strommenger, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien*. Munich: Hirmer, 1962, Pl. 42, bottom.

8 E. Heinrich and W. Andrae, ed *Fara: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Fara und Abu Hatab 1902/03*. Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Vorderasiatische Abteilung, 1931, Pl. 51 l.

9 R.M. Boehmer, "Zur Glyptik zwischen Mesilim- und Akkad-Zeit," p. 263 ff

10 C.L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations II. The Royal Cemetery*. London: Oxford, 1934, Pl 204:149.

strong linear patterns on the lions' manes and on the horned animal bodies are reminiscent of previous styles.

From the so-called Royal Cemetery at Ur there is a seal with the name of Akalamdug dating to the later part of the Early Dynastic III A period (Plate XII, fig. 6).¹¹ It shows two crossed lions attacking a bull and a reversed goat. A second lion also seizes the goat's hind end. The photograph in the publication is badly lighted, but still one begins to sense a more fully rounded relief than formerly. The seal of his predecessor, Meskalamdug (Plate XII, fig. 7), has an even higher degree of modelling as evidenced in the crossed lions attacking standing bulls.¹² The manes are now indicated by heavily carved locks of hair and no longer by just linear incised patterns. Royal seals, however, show only one aspect of the product of the glyptic of a single period. Many other seals were executed in a more rudimentary style in which the figures are only roughly indicated. Many examples were also found in the "Royal Cemetery" such as the seals depicting a banquet scene in the upper register and musicians with a singer or dancer in the lower register (Plate XII, fig. 8).¹³

In the chart, Early Dynastic III B begins with the ruler Eannatum of Lagash. This Early Dynastic phase includes the remainder of the Lagash rulers as well as the important kings of the First Dynasty of Ur. I have used the term "Ur-Lagash Styles" as a general name for the glyptic of the period. Therefore, the new group of al-Hiba sealings dating to Eannatum, Enannatum I, and perhaps Entemena belong to the earlier half of the Early Dynastic III B period.

The cylinder seal as used in antiquity probably served many purposes; for example, a rolling of the seal could have been used as a simple indication of ownership, or indicate an origin for a traded object, or the seal itself could have been dedicated as a votive object. Be that as it may, the fragments of mud rescued from excavations bear impressions of seals with only partially completed designs, or impressions of seals rolled in a slap-dash, haphazard fashion. These sometimes bear little likeness to the finely executed rollings of actual cylinder seals in our possession today. Even so, the majority of the al-Hiba impressions do give some idea of the original seal designs. For a group of such well dated seal impressions of the late third millennium B.C. from one site and mostly from one building, one is struck first of all by the extraordinary number of design types and the wide range of styles.

Some of the seal designs are composed of purely geometric patterns (Plate XIII, fig. 9), while others are geometric designs formed of partially recognizable elements such as a cross or floral motif (Plate XIII, fig. 10). One might argue that these sealings were made with rollings of much older seals which were used again long after the time of the seal's original manufacture. There are obvious examples which demonstrate that older seals were sometimes reused, but it is more probable in this case that geometric seals had a long history in Mesopotamian glyptics and that such sealings represent one aspect of the Ur-Lagash styles.

Among the sealings with designs which include human figurative elements is Plate XIII, fig. 11. In this double register seal is a seated man apparently working on a table or bench with perhaps groups of three types of pots shown in the field above the working space. The figure is greeted by another, and between them is a curious object which looks something like a churn, but is probably not. Also included is a "temple facade," an architectural element which suggests that the activity is somehow connected with the cult. Architectural

11 *Ibid.*, Pl. 198:65.

12 *Ibid.*, Pl. 196:55.

13 *E.g., ibid.*, Pl. 194:22.

motifs are used in other sealings with scenes of seated and standing figure groups which unfortunately are incompletely preserved. Standing animals are shown in the lower register of Plate XIII, fig. 12, and in Plate XIII, fig. 13 are included entwined serpents, two animals perhaps originally horned, a portion of a plant frond, and curious symbol reminiscent of an *ankh*. In the mind of the seal cutter as well as in the mind of the person who commissioned the seal, the scenes in both registers must have been connected no matter how nebulous the associated meanings might have been.

In the sealing of Plate XIII, fig. 14 the design is composed exclusively of a juxtaposed series of symbols. It is impossible to recognize most of these; however, within our ken is the coiled serpent or perhaps even a snail and a monster-like inverted animal above the serpent. Clearer is the animal with extremely long sectioned horns shown next to a scorpion depicted from above in the sealing of Plate XIII, fig. 15. In the lower register is a newt or salamander. It is unfortunate that the entire impression of Plate XIII, fig. 16 is not preserved, for occasionally in the *œuvre* of the Lagash seal carvers there is almost a baroque touch, evident here in the manner in which the horns of the animal melt into the register line and swirl upward and forward only to reverse and grow into an entwined serpentine motif.

Seals with scenes of human and animal combat were the most popular during the Early Dynastic period, and most of the impressions from al-Hiba belong to this category. As one might expect, the finest of the seal impressions preserved was made by a royal seal. Plate XIV, fig. 17a,b shows a portion of a seal of Eannatum. Unfortunately most of the main group of the composition is not extant, but a small area divided into two registers is virtually intact. In the lower portion is a contest and in the upper portion a label with the name of the *ensi* Eannatum.¹⁴ A large bull with head turned back on the right side of the impression is part of the main contest scene which probably had as the central axis two crossed lions. The bull is provided with a large well defined eye, an upright ear, and a single twisted horn. His long tail is also twisted, and a circle executed by means of a single drill hole is placed between his legs. A small lion whose head is seen from above is fitted into the curve of the bull's back and seizes the bull's neck with his mouth. Two figures fill the space between the inscription. On the right is a heroic figure whose lower body is turned towards the left, but whose upper body and head are seen frontally. Although nudity is certainly intended, the thighs of his legs are clearly demarcated from the lower leg so that he appears to be wearing pants. The head is overly large in relation to the rest of the body, and the full hair is elaborate. A part divides the hair in the middle, and there are large full locks upturned on either side of the face. The manner in which he grasps the figure to the left is unique, and he seems to stab the latter with a dagger. One or both figures hold a reversed animal by the rear leg. Even though the sealing surface is not broken and the carving is sharp, it is difficult to decide exactly what animal is represented. This is curious since the rest of the seal is carved with a wealth of clear and precise details. Some who have seen the sealing suggest that the animal most closely resembles a boar or a pig. If this were the case, the representation would again be unique. The demonic figure to the left is a bull man. His profile lower body is that of a bull, but his torso is human as well as are his arms. However, his head is a fusion of both bovine and human elements. Down his back falls a thick tress which turns up at the bottom. Like the heroic figure who attacks him, he also attacks and puts a dagger into the hero's

¹⁴ There seems to be a portion of a sign preceding the PA. I am unable to explain this.

head. An idea of the style of the carving can be gained from the photograph of the actual sealing. The modelling is fully rounded and there is a meticulous attention to detail. The effect is one of a richness of execution, yet the over-all impression is quite static due to the clarity with which each part is rendered.

The royal style is found on other partially preserved sealings such as Plate XIV, fig. 18. In this fragment the rare ibex demon shown with a long tress is comparable to Eannatum's bull man. A bull also has twisted horns; however, the hero in this scene has a hair style composed of three large flame-like tufts which project from the head. Very characteristic for the glyptic of Lagash at this time is the placement of an assortment of small animals in the field. On this seal what appears to be a small lion fills the curvature of the bull's back. In the seal of Plate XIV, fig. 19 the central portion of the main scene shows two crossed lions with heads seen typically from above. Their manes are executed by means of large tufts of hair, and what appears to be the remains of an inscription separates the two lions. One lion seizes a bull while the other grasps what is perhaps a stag. Heroes flank this grouping and interestingly, attack not the predatory lions but the bull and the stag. On this seal small birds are used to fill the space formed by the curves of the herbivores' backs.

A lion, a bull, a stag surmounting a curious rectangular object, and a small horned animal form the right portion of the composition of Plate XIV, fig. 20. Replacing the hero who might be expected to appear to the left of the animals, there are two identical nude crossed humans. Each has a bended knee which seems to rest on three balls, the mountain or earth motif. Such crossed identical figures, usually called the twins, are not unique in Early Dynastic glyptic, but the manner in which they are shown here is. Also unparalleled, to the present writer's knowledge, is the depiction of the kneeling twins upon the mountain symbol.

In the contest scene of Plate XV, fig. 21 two crossed lions are shown. One attacks a herbivore who in turn is attacked by a flame haired hero with a dagger. The same composition appears in Plate XV, fig. 22 with a similar type of hero. The compositions of these designs are balanced with the crossing and attacking groups of animals and heroes. Unlike the previously discussed impressions, in Plate XV, fig. 22 the hero does grapple with the lion now shown reversed and held up by its tail. The fact that the lion is held in a reversed fashion is probably not overly significant, for there are examples of Early Dynastic III B seals where the hero actually contends with upright standing lions. Although there is a clarity of execution coupled with high relief, the style of these seals is less rich, and the carefully detailed figures of the royal style are here replaced by more cursory, stylized renderings with heavy linear accents.

The style of the Lagash sealings as exemplified by the seal of Eannatum cannot be very far removed in time from the royal seals of Mesannepada, the first ruler of the First Dynasty of Ur (Plate XV, fig. 23).¹⁵ The seal of his wife Ninbanda, which may also be considered a royal seal, certainly differs from the earlier contest scenes, yet the execution is not only less elaborate but also less accomplished (Plate XV, fig. 24).¹⁶ This points to the contemporary variations of styles at Ur. Chronologically, the Lagash sealings fall after the Royal Cemetery styles of Ur, roughly contemporary with Urnanshe and Akurgal of Lagash,

15 L. Legrain, *Ur Excavations III. Archaic Seal-Impressions*. London: Oxford, 1936, Pl. 30 57:518

16 C.L. Woolley, *Ur Exc. II*, Pl. 207:216.

and prior to the last kings of the Lagash dynasty, Lugalanda and Uru'inimgina (Plate XV, fig. 25, fig. 26).¹⁷ The seals of Lugalanda are close to the Ur and al-Hiba sealings in the rigorously balanced compositions with a great attention to detail. However, one senses a more intense all-over pattern and a greater verticality here at the end of the Dynasty. Such tendencies are clearly brought forth in the seal of the wife of Lugalanda, Barnamtara (Pl. XVI, fig. 27).¹⁸ In her seal three registers are employed and are filled with extremely vertical groups so that when the seal is rolled to an indefinite length, a continuous interlocked pattern is produced.

The iconography of the al-Hiba material is indeed difficult. At our disposal is very little which allows us to gain a real understanding of what the ancient Sumerian intended by these rich and varied images. Great learning or erudition can be truly overwhelming, but sometimes leaves one with the feeling that the scholarship itself and not the essential meaning of the image is what has become the essential pursuit of an investigation. On the other hand, the approach can be decidedly simplistic. In art, there must have been a many-faceted view—an overlapping of meanings—both esoteric and prosaic. The idea that a hero, or perhaps even a shepherd, protects the flock in no way fully provides an answer to what we see before us in these compositions. Yet something quite as basic as this could be the fundamental idea that some received from these images. Certainly there must have been a world of difference between what was conceived by the priesthood and what the common man comprehended. Meanings can change over the centuries and become completely misunderstood. Or else, the modern interpreter can come to a complete misunderstanding of an image without a fairly thorough knowledge of the entire range of the material. Plate XVI, fig. 28, for example, is an Ur-Lagash style sealing from al-Hiba from the same group of sealings discussed above. Here, there are two very monstrous creatures with grotesque bodies and heads. They are framed in a curving band with strange projections at the bottom. Between them is an abstract symbol shaped somewhat like a heart coupled with a cross from which project two bars. Undoubtedly the symbol is pregnant with meaning. However, on comparison with other representations it is clear that this is not something monstrous, but rather is a highly stylized rendering of two seated figures in a boat flanking a large pottery vessel from which project two long straws. The figures are in the process of, or are about to begin drinking beer. The representation of the beer drinking ceremony is a standard part of early Sumerian iconography and does not deal with the monstrous even though these images might appear to do so.

The art of the Early Dynastic period contained a rich and varied world of monsters and demons. One of the finest examples of a monster is on an engraved shell plaque in the collection of the Lands of the Bible Archaeology Foundation (Plate XVI, fig. 29). A divinity is depicted kneeling before a monster which has a speckled body and tail. A series of undulating lines inscribed over the back of the creature might well represent rain. The most distinguishing attribute is the seven serpentine necks and lion heads. One head has been destroyed by means of a weapon severing the neck, and thus it hangs lower and apart from the rest. One might think of the underworld with its seven divisions—each head representing a stage in the journey to be passed and conquered or subdued. But in other Early Dynastic representations the monster might have only three or five heads, and in at least two representa-

17 P. Amiet, *La Glyptique mésop. archaïque*
Pl. 83:1098, 1100.

18 *Ibid.*, Pl. 83:1102.

tions known to the writer the god or hero is not represented, but rather the monster is shown beside a contest scene Plate XVI, fig. 30.¹⁹ It is difficult to bring the possible variant meanings into a consistent pattern. Modern interpretations are many. This monster, or hydra as it has been called, has been seen as the constellation Hydra, as the personification of the enemy city, as a beneficial as well as an evil force, etc.²⁰ The possibility of a dual nature of a demon is important. Our concept of the word *demon* is fully colored by late Christian writings in which it is associated with evil. An evil connotation is not necessarily implied in the original Greek word. It is a being with a divine nature, and it is in that sense that the word is used here.

The majority of the al-Hiba sealings display compositions composed of combinations of humans and animals. The animals include the lion, the bull, the stag, and the goat among others; however, the animals are not depicted in a natural fashion. In an actual combat between a lion and a bull or a lion and a stag the animals would never be both standing and confronting one another as might, for example, two contending stallions. Rather the animals assume a partially human aspect which cannot be fully explained by suggesting that it is only a matter of artistic convention and a desire to assemble the groups into a heraldic scheme. Other figures such as the bull man display a real mixture of animal and human forms. The human-headed bull is also a favorite in early Sumerian art, but he is not well represented in the al-Hiba sealings.²¹ In the Eannatum sealing the hero attacks the bull man and is in turn attacked by him. They are both shown wielding daggers.

Elsewhere it is clear that the hero must be divine or at least semi-divine for he is able to seize and hold a lion upside down with ease. The hero is usually nude, but sometimes he wears a belt. His sex may be shown, but usually it is not. He may be depicted in profile or in full face; the latter strengthens the image and gives it a great sense of power and immediacy. The frontal image is reserved for the divinity in Sumerian art. It is also used with the lion but only when the head is seen from above. Perhaps it is because the hero is nude that his hair seems to be stressed and to be very important. Radically different hair styles are employed which must have been significant. The idea of strength and power residing in the hair as suggested by the biblical story of Samson is a possible interpretation, but certainly could not be proven in any way.

Years ago scholars saw in many of the cylinder seal representations the semi-divine Gilgamesh and his companion the semi-human Enkidu. This idea has generally been discounted, for it would be hard to demonstrate that the bull man is the Enkidu we know from the myth.²² Yet it would not be illogical to assume that the ideas or levels of meaning which underlie the epic found their expression in art. Although it is tempting to explain certain scenes by finding a counterpart in the myths, it is clearly very difficult to parallel the

19 E. Heinrich and W. Andrae, (*supra*, n. 8), Pl. 60b. A second example is found on an unpublished sealing from al-Hiba.

20 P. Amiet, *La Glyptique mésop. archaïque* p. 174 ff.

21 To my knowledge the lion-man does not occur in Sumerian art.

22 Some scholars have continued to see aspects of the myth preserved in pictorial repre-

sentations; e.g. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London: McMillan and Co., 1939, p. 62 ff. Cf. also E. Porada, "Nomads and Luristan Bronzes: Methods proposed for a Classification of the Bronzes," in *Dark Ages and Nomads c. 1000 B.C.*, ed. by M. Mellink, Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1964, pp. 23-25, n. 56. For a discussion of the problems involved see the paper of W.G. Lambert in this volume.

artistic and the poetic image. One can only ask why is there such a lack of a fundamental relationship between what is written and what is represented?²³

The composing of a myth or epic employs narrative. The visual representation of any section of the story would necessitate a highly developed pictorial means, that is, continuous narration. Continuous narration is one of the great contributions of Mesopotamian art, but in much later times during the Neo-Assyrian period.²⁴ Then, narration was directed toward the representation of the historical event with depictions of the army's advance into battle, the ensuing conflict, and the aftermath made specific by landscape detail and the employment of a variety of visual tools to represent spacial relationships. Religious subjects were not treated in the same fashion. In contrast to Mesopotamia, Egypt did not develop such an historical narrative except in rare instances. Rather, during the second millennium at least, a very sophisticated narrative was used in religious representations to illustrate the passage into the western horizon, the journey through the underworld, the conflict with the evil that lies therein, and the coming forth on the eastern horizon.²⁵ There is an intimate relationship between text and picture couched in the use of esoteric divine symbols, numerical symbolism, and even a color symbolism.

For the Early Dynastic period of Sumer there is one monument, the Stele of Eannatum, with an extended text and several registers of pictorial representation.²⁶ On the "divine" side of the stele the god Ningirsu is shown holding his great net crammed full with the defeated warriors of Umma, and on the "terrestrial" side Eannatum is shown twice, once leading his army on foot and then again by chariot. From his chariot he hurls a spear which strikes the head of a Ummaite. A simple register system is used, with each register standing as a complete entity. The registers stand for the whole and are not to be "read" as representing a sequence in time. The great net of the god is mentioned in the text, but what is seen of Eannatum is not. Even the vultures which have supplied the modern name for the stele are not included in the story, which is long and includes many subjects. A listing of the headings supplied by T. Jacobsen for convenience in his translation and reconstruction of portions of the text indicates the varied nature of the parts: Ningirsu's Hungry Lion, Birth of the Hero, the War with Umma as Mytho-History, the War with Umma as History.²⁷ To be sure there is a relation between text and picture, but the relationship is not exact. The visual images do not directly derive from the text even though comparable ideas are expressed in the representations.

Although we are dealing in the seal impression representations with a world of heroes, demons, and animals, where the immediate symbol could stand for a wealth of religious ideas and overlapping or fused concepts, we cannot find in the myths or epics passages

23 See the article of E. Reimer in this volume. It is of interest that in S. Kramer's book *Sumerian Mythology*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1944, the illustrations that are used to illustrate the myths are all from Akkadian art.

24 The essence or germ of narrative art already appears in the Lion Hunt stele of the Uruk period, for not only is the "royal" hunt represented but the main figure is repeated twice in two different actions as if he were taking part in two aspects of one undertaking.

25 V. e.g., N. Rambova and A. Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, Bollingen Series XL, 1954.

26 P. Amiet, *Art of the Ancient Near East*. New York: Abrams, 1980, p. 271:328-330.

27 T. Jacobsen, "The Stele of the Vultures Col. I-X," *Kramer Anniversary Volume*. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 25, ed. by Barry L. Eichler. Kevelaer: Butzon and Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1976, p. 244 f.

which explain the artistic iconography. It is clear, however, that the scenes deal with a struggle, a pitting of forces against each other. As in the representation on the seal of Eannatum where the hero is locked in combat with the demonic bull man, no one really conquers. Implied is a basic duality which is also suggested in the representation on the sealing with the twins who appear in many mythologies as the two brothers, the two contestants, or the two companions. This is the basic duality of death and life, or creation and destruction. One might well see a cosmological concept in this conflict of heroic man, man-animal, and animal which expresses progressive transformations. Although the *Enuma Elish*, the creation epic, is Akkadian and probably not composed in its present form until the second part of the second millennium B.C., the concepts of the generations of the gods, the rebellious gods, the creation of man out of the evil of the past cycle of creation to serve the gods are basic elements in many mythologies. For creation there must be conflict as noted long ago by Edith Porada in an article on one of the finest greater Mesopotamian demons.²⁸

28 E. Porada, "A Leonine Figure of the Proto-literate Period of Mesopotamia," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 70:4 (1950) p. 223 ff.

Anatolian Libation Pourers and the Minoan Genius

Machteld J. Mellink

The world of Anatolian cult and ritual first appears to us in the cylinder seal impressions of Kültepe, the ancient city of Kanesh, in the early second millennium B.C. The excavations and publications by Tahsin and Nimet Özgüç have revealed a detailed repertoire of native Anatolian iconography recorded by the seal cutters of this period.¹

A number of gods and goddesses can be distinguished by their individual attributes and paraphernalia. They appear in action and processions, but most often they form the center of attention in a scene of worship, somewhat in the Mesopotamian tradition.

In many scenes of worship food and drink are offered to the deity, who is shown seated in front of an offering stand. Liquid offerings and libations are prominent. The deity holds a cup or a goblet in his outstretched hand. The worshipper brings a libation in a pitcher or one-handed spouted vessel of the kind inadequately nicknamed teapot, and on occasion is shown pouring the good drink into the god's goblet (Plate XVII, fig. 1, libation to the seated deity on the left; Plate XVII, fig. 2, with the same ceremony for the seated deity and the weather god standing on his bull). Other typical local drinking customs are also shared with the god, who may be offered his beverage through a drinking tube from a large jar set up in front of him, while his cup is filled by a kneeling worshipper from a spouted jar (Plate XVII, fig. 3).

All of this has a generic affinity to Mesopotamian worship and banquet scenes, and libations are indeed poured into vessels standing in front of some Sumerian and Akkadian deities, but not directly into the god's drinking cup. The setting on the Kanesh seals is local and evidently refers to Anatolian customs. The vessels illustrated on the seals are characteristic of the Karum period, from the flaring rims of the jars with drinking tubes to the pitchers and spouted pots known from many Anatolian sites of the 19th and 18th centuries B.C.² The custom of ceremonially offering a beverage is probably referred to as early as the period of the Royal Tombs of Alaca Hüyük. A small statuette of a nude woman holding a pitcher

1 A good survey of the range of subject matter can be found in Nimet Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Series V:22; Ankara, 1965),

henceforth referred to as *Anatolian Group*. Figures 1–7 are from this volume.

2 See *Anatolian Group* pp 56–58 and p 11, fig 4 for a discussion of the vase shapes

was found in tomb H, and among the precious metal vessels in tomb B were a gold pitcher and goblet, an elegant third millennium libation set, also encountered in tomb K.³

The background of the Anatolian cylinder seal designs of the Karum II period is filled with all kinds of subsidiary ornament, some of it meaningful and traditional, such as the sun disc and moon crescent, some puzzling although probably relevant, such as birds, fishes, quadrupeds, animal and human heads. One of the subsidiary figures is a seated monkey, who may raise his forepaws respectfully (Plate XVIII, fig. 4) or sit quietly in the background (Plate XVII, fig. 1). As a filling ornament he is no different from monkeys on Old Syrian and Old Babylonian cylinder seals, although his portrayal in Anatolia is sketchy. He sometimes resembles a mongoose.⁴ Most animals in these Cappadocian seals are somewhat distorted.

In several instances, however, the seated Anatolian monkey begins to take part in the libation ritual. He holds a pitcher respectfully in front of the weather god on the bull (Plate XVIII, fig. 5) and other gods or accompanies the hunting god with his libation.⁵

On occasion the pitcher, carefully rendered, has a leafy or spiky branch issuing from the rim, e.g. in a scene with Adad and the weather god (Plate XVIII, fig. 6, also in Plate XVII, fig. 2). On a seal with friezes of birds and hybrids, four monkeys appear in a row, each holding a pitcher with branch (Plate XVIII, fig. 7). The monkey has become an adjunct of the libation ritual, using his right forepaw as a human hand and offering the pitcher at a slant, ready to pour. But unlike the human worshippers, the monkey does not actually pour a beverage into the cup of a deity. The branch in the orifice of some of the pitchers may indicate that the liquid in such instances is to be beneficial to vegetation, as lifegiving water. In Mesopotamia the flowing vase may have a symbolic plant issuing from its rim in the midst of the streams, e.g. in Gudea's imagery on stelae and seals; this continues in some Old Syrian glyptic renderings of vases with streams.⁶ The Anatolian monkey with pitcher and branch

3 Figurine from Tomb H in Hâmit Z. Koşay, *Les Fouilles d'Alaca Höyük 1937-39* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Series V:5; Ankara, 1951), pp. 156-157, H 2; pl. 139. Best photograph in Kurt Bittel, *Die Hetbiter* (Munich, 1976), fig. 29. Gold goblet and pitcher from Tomb B in Remzi O. Arık, *Les Fouilles d'Alaca Höyük 1935* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Series V:1; Ankara, 1937), p. 59, fig. 80, pp. CLXVIII-CLXXI, Al. 241 and 242.

Gold goblet and pitcher from Tomb K in Hâmit Z. Koşay, *Les Fouilles d'Alaca Höyük 1937-39* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Series V:5; Ankara, 1951), pp. 165-168, K 1 and K 4, also silver goblet K 5, pls. 176-177.

Further illustrations in Kurt Bittel, *Die Hetbiter* (Munich, 1976), figs. 13-14 and Ekrem Akurgal and Max Hirmer, *Die Kunst der Hetbiter* (Munich, 1961) pls. 15 and 17.

4 For "worshipping" monkeys see the triad on the cylinder seal impression Sedat Alp, *Zylinder- und Stempelsiegel aus Karaböyük bei Konya* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Series V:26; Ankara, 1968) p. 131,

fig. 18 and footnote 128. For the mongoose problem see Edith Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections* (Washington, 1948) pp. 110-112, and an unpublished seminar paper by Diana Krumholz, 1980, kindly made available to me by the author.

5 *Anatolian Group* (supra, fn. 1), Nos. 38 and 62.

6 Impression of a cylinder seal of Gudea in H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), p. 143, text-fig. 37. Pouring a libation on a stylized plant or palmtree in a vessel is common in neo-Sumerian iconography. E. Douglas van Buren, *The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams* (Berlin, 1933) deals with the "magic plant" in the vase pp. 1, 3, 13, passim, note Syrian cylinder seals figs. 41, 42. Dominique Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament, No. 27, 1975), No. 26, p. 22 and pl. XXXVII. See also the Mari painting, André Parrot, *Mission archéologique de Mari II. Le Palais. Peintures Murales* (Paris, 1958), p. 57, pl. IX.

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seems to be most meaningful in the entourage of rainbringing deities (Plate XVII, fig. 2; Plate XVIII, figs. 6, 7).

This Anatolian monkey-with-pitcher as a magic attendant of rituals is not surprising or unique. Animals or hybrids in many early repertoires of religious or symbolic art take on the roles of human beings, impersonating the offering bearer, who may be the priest or king of the community. This is perhaps documented to us first in Proto-Elamite art, in which bulls and lions stand for rival (royal?) forces, or may appear as kneeling libation offerers. The role of animals or hybrids in such situations is ambivalent. They represent the best of both worlds, adding animal potency to the action they are performing, while they ward off evil from the human being they stand in for. Demons and monsters they are in the sense that they are animals performing unnatural or supranatural roles; they may be shown as hybrids anatomically, but this is not essential. The Proto-Elamite silver figurine of the kneeling bull holding a spouted vessel⁷ is all bovine, but pose, robe and vessel are part of the human, ritual world. The Kanesh monkey is of a lowlier class, but he too is magically taking responsibility in the ritual of libating to a deity or helping to pour forth lifegiving waters. His anatomy is simian so far as the Anatolian artist can master it, but the gesture of holding the pitcher and the pitcher itself are part of the role borrowed from the human worshipper.

The Karum period with its international trade gave the Anatolians increasing familiarity with Mesopotamian and Syrian customs and culture. Indirectly, Egyptian elements also became known on the plateau. The appearance of the monkey in art (and probably in life) at Kanesh is understandable against the background of contact with Carchemish, Alalakh, Aleppo and Byblos. The seal of Matrunna, daughter of Aplahanda of Carchemish, shows the monkey in Syrian guise,⁸ innocent of participation in ritual action. The palace of Acemhöyük of the Karum Ib period, which has contact with king Aplahanda, contained ivories carved in a newly created Hittite style based on familiarity with Egyptian as well as Syrian models and techniques. Nimet Özgüç and Prudence Harper have shown how important these ivories are for the understanding of the genesis of Hittite art. Among the Acemhöyük ivories, dated securely to the 19th–18th centuries B.C., are several carvings representing monkeys.⁹ One is carved in the round on the handle of a vessel (a pitcher?); another tiny three-dimensional monkey clasps a vase (Pl. XIX, fig. 8), and an engraved plaque shows a seated monkey carefully holding a handleless jar (Plate XIX, figs. 9–10). The latter monkey wears a beaded collar and is dressed in a short cloak covering his shoulders and back. Here again the monkey

7 Donald Hansen, "A proto-Elamite Silver Figurine in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 3 (1970), pp. 5–14.

8 G.A. Eisen, *Ancient Oriental Cylinder and other Seals with a Description of the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore* (Oriental Institute Publications, 47; Chicago, 1940), No. 130, p. 34. Elizabeth Williams Forte, *Ancient Near Eastern Seals. A Selection of Stamp and Cylinder Seals from the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1976), No. 11.

9 MMA 36.152.8, 36.152.11, 36.152.9. Nimet Özgüç, "Excavations at Acemhöyük," *Anatolia* 10

(1966), pp. 42–47. Prudence O. Harper, "Dating a Group of Ivories from Anatolia," *The Connoisseur*, November 1969, pp. 156–162, figs. 10 and 13. M.J. Mellink, "The Pratt Ivories in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 73, 1969, pp. 285–286, ill. 4. Monkeys (clearly shown as baboons) also appear in the offering scenes carved on the ivory box from Acemhöyük published by Nimet Özgüç, "An Ivory Box and a Stone Mould from Acemhöyük," *Belleten* XL, No. 160, 1976, pp. 547–559; one of the baboons is in a prominent position near the enthroned recipient of the offerings, pls. II–III.

is participating in human activities and even costumed to act his role as an offering bearer. This is the second instance of Anatolian adaptation of the exotic monkey as a ceremonial servant, holding a vessel in the manner of humans.

The case of the glyptic monkeys at Kanesh is clear. They are minor cult attendants. The monkeys of the Acemhöyük ivories may still be closer to their Egyptian counterparts¹⁰, perhaps closer to being pets and comic performers than serious members of a ritual entourage. Yet some of the magic delegation of critical tasks clings even to animal fables and cartoons of popular Egyptian art. Even the role of musician is not unknown to the monkey of the Karum period. The so-called *Tierkapelle* surfaces from time to time in Egyptian and Western Asiatic art, with the monkey as an occasional participant. A monkey playing the flute appears (as an Anatolian addition?) on a recut Ur III seal at Kültepe.¹¹

In the Old Hittite Kingdom, from the 17th century B.C. on, the art and rituals of the Karum era were developed with greater articulation. Libations continue to be a prominent part of religious ceremonies by priests and royalty. The monkey is no longer a hybrid adjunct of human worship. His place in glyptic art is taken by another Syro-Anatolian favorite, the bird-headed, winged man, whose ancestors include Egyptian Horus figures, and who was already making his way to Anatolia by the Karum Ib period. Two such bird-men appear supporting a tree and sundisc on a stamp seal at Acemhöyük.¹² An Old Hittite stamp-cylinder in the Louvre shows him fully developed in Anatolian ritual action. An elaborate cult scene is dominated by Teshub in his chariot and the nude goddess bringing rain; behind the chariot, the bird-headed winged man appears in vigorous stride as he raises a beaked pitcher of fine Old Hittite profile (Plate XIX, fig. 11).¹³ A more formal setting appears on one of the faces of a hammer-headed stamp seal in the Ashmolean (Plate XIX, fig. 12).¹⁴ An offering stand is set in front of a seated deity associated with the winged disc and the weather god's hieroglyph; a bird-headed demon, wingless, raises one hand and with the other pours a libation from a beaked pitcher onto the ground. The bird-headed cult-attendant is now dressed for his role in a long robe and pointed shoes.

10 Egyptian monkeys are playfully shown as symmetrical supporters of jars or individual carriers of jars in minor arts of the Middle Kingdom, E.L.B. Terrace, "Blue Marble Plastic Vessels and Other Figures," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 5, 1966, pp. 59-60, pls. XIV-XX.

See J. Vandier d'Abbadie, "Les singes familiers dans l'ancienne Egypte," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 16, 1964, pp. 147-148 for early ritual roles of the baboon in texts and images, and for monkeys as servants in Middle Kingdom art, *Revue d'Égyptologie* 17, 1965, pp. 181-184, a reference which I owe to Edith Porada.

11 Tahsin Özgüç and Nimet Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe* 1949 (Türk Tarih Kurumu Series V:12; Ankara, 1953), p. 230, pl. LIX, No. 664. Compare precursors in Early Dynastic context at Ur, H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939),

pl. XIII h and see Carole Mendleson, "More Monkey Business," *Anatolian Studies* 33, 1983, pp. 81-83 for Ur III terracottas and the "Monkey Wallah."

12 Nimet Özgüç, "Seal Impressions from the Palace at Acemhöyük," in Edith Porada, Editor, *Ancient Art in Seals* (Princeton, 1980), pp. 75-76, fig. III.42; also in *Belleten* XLI, No. 162, 1977, p. 377, fig. 6.

13 André Parrot, "Cylindre hittite nouvellement acquis (AO 20138)," *Syria* 28, 1951, pp. 180-190, pl. XIII, 1.

14 Oxford 1889.318. Good photographs in E. Akurgal and M. Hirmer, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (Munich, 1961), pl. 52; see the drawing in R.M. Boehmer, *Die Reliefkeramik von Bogazkoy* (Berlin, 1983), p. 23, fig. 10. Kurt Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (Munich, 1976), fig. 154.

Several other Old Hittite stamp seals of the hammer-headed class show the long-robed, bird-headed attendant pouring the libation to the ground from a slender beaked pitcher, in front of an altar and a seated deity, e.g. a seal in Dresden (Plate XIX, fig. 13) and one in the British Museum.¹⁵ In all these scenes, the bird-headed attendant, if we read the scene from the impression, raises his left hand and holds the pitcher in his right. The iconography of the Dresden seal, as Sedat Alp pointed out, is comparable to that of the frieze on the Schimmel rhyton.¹⁶ The silver rhyton, or *bibru*, of Old Kingdom date, clearly illustrates the pouring of a libation on the ground in front of a deity. The use of a slim pitcher with curved beak and offset base is rendered in fine detail as is the "reapot" held by a kneeling attendant. Here all worshippers are fully human and probably priestly or royal. The hunting god and his realm are symbolized by the stag supporting the young god in hunting gear, the stag under the tree and the shape of the ritual vessel itself. The seated deity, perhaps the identical hunting god as Sedat Alp suggests, holds a cup in his right, in reference to the libation.

The libation is clearly poured by the king in an Old Hittite relief from Alaca Hüyük¹⁷ and in a cylinder seal impression on a jar fragment now in the Istanbul Museum.¹⁸ Non-royal figures preparing to pour libations from a slender pitcher are shown on an Old Hittite relief vase fragment from Karahüyük in Elbistan and on the relief vase from Inandık, soon to be published in detail.¹⁹ A seal from Yazılıkaya shows a libation offered by a robed, probably human attendant.²⁰

In the glyptic series consisting of the Dresden-London-Oxford seals the bird-headed human figure, or griffin-man, performs the pouring of the libation on the ground in the role otherwise taken by king or priest. This is not a banquet or symposium scene but a specific ritual appearing in illustrations of specific cults. The griffin-man is related in concept to the monkeys attending to libations for gods of the Karum era, but his form in art represents the

15 H.T. Bossert, *Janus und der Mann mit der Adler- oder Greifenmaske* (Istanbul, Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais V, 1959), pl. 3, fig. 8; Sedat Alp, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Series VI:23, Ankara, 1983), fig. 11, for the Dresden seal. For the seal British Museum 115655 see Sedat Alp, *op. cit.*, fig. 12 a and b; and R. L. Alexander, "The Tyskiewicz Group of Stamp-Cylinders," *Anatolica* 5, 1973-76, pl. III, fig. 6. For British Museum No. 115654, see R. L. Alexander, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, fig. 7; H.T. Bossert, *op. cit.*, fig. 6, an abbreviated scene.

16 Oscar White Muscarella, Editor, *Ancient Art in the Norbert Schimmel Collection* (Mainz, 1974), No. 123. Sedat Alp, *op. cit.* (supra note 15), pp. 93-100, figs. 6 a-h; Kurt Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (Munich, 1976), p. 160, fig. 169.

17 H.T. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (Berlin, 1942), figs. 503 and 505; Sedat Alp, "Die Libationsgefäße Schnabelkanne und Armförmiges Gerät und ihre hethitischen Bezeichnungen," *Bulleten XXXI*, No. 124, 1967, pp. 534, fig. 5.

18 Edibe Uzunoğlu, "Die Abrollung eines hethitischen Siegels auf einem Pithos," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 29, 1979, pp. 66-67, fig. 2, pls. 8-9; pitcher in left hand, lituus in right.

19 Tahsin Özgüç and Nimet Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Karahöyük 1947* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Series V:7; Ankara, 1949), pl. XLVII, 2; Tahsin Özgüç, "The Bitik Vase," *Anatolia* 2, 1957, pp. 70-71, fig. 3. The Inandık vase is illustrated in Raci Temizer, *Ankara Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi* (Akbank, Ankara 1980) p. 37; R. Boehmer, *Die Reliefkeramik von Bogazköy* (Berlin, 1983) p. 21, fig. 7A; a detailed publication by Tahsin Özgüç and Raci Temizer is in preparation.

20 H.G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Bogazköy*, II (Berlin, 1942) p. 35, No. 221; T. Beran, *Die Hethitische Glyptik von Bogazköy*, I (Berlin, 1967), No. 134, p. 30. See also a seal in Vienna, R.M. Boehmer, in W. Orthmann, Editor, *Der Alte Orient* (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 14, Berlin, 1975), pl. 376 a, p. 449.

visual merging of the human elements in the ritual role with the symbolic power of the bird (hawk or eagle).

The rituals of royal libations are known from texts and art of the Hittite Empire period. In the unfinished rock relief of Hattushili III and Puduhepa at Fraktin, king and queen pour libations onto the ground (or into vessels standing on the ground) in front of altars posed before god and goddess.²¹ The altars in this case were meant to carry special emblems; in the case of the unfinished form on the altar in front of the goddess, one may wonder if a bird-headed libation pourer in long costume was intended.

The ritual is still practised by the king of Malatya after the fall of the Hittite Empire, but bird-headed attendants have specialized in other duties. The use of animal-headed demons to stand in for royalty to perform libations is dwindling in the glyptic art after the Old Hittite Kingdom.

The possibility that during the Old Kingdom hybrid figures performed functions other than libation is suggested by a fragment of a relief vessel from Boğazköy preserving the bovine head of an otherwise human tambourine player.²² Such relief vases illustrate the various stages of Old Hittite cult ceremonies in great detail. The art we are looking at is not popular or humorous art. The tambourine player is a cult musician.

Sedat Alp has recently investigated Hittite texts concerned with temple ritual. His study is helpful in interpreting the illustrations of libations and liquid offerings to Hittite gods and allows a distinction of the vessels used and liquids poured. Wine is the likely offering poured from pitcher into goblet; beer may be the beverage in jars with drinking tubes and continues to be used for certain Old Hittite libations; blood of a sacrificial animal may be poured in front of the altar.²³ All this is serious, prescribed and meticulously detailed ceremonial adjusted to each cult and occasion.

Our concern with the symbolic libation pourer calls for an examination of two non-Hittite but contemporary occurrences of hybrid libation pourers.

The presence of winged, griffin-headed attendants performing libations in the rich iconography of the cylinder seal impressions from the Nuzi archives has been duly pointed out and put in context by Edith Porada.²⁴ The seal of Plate XX, fig. 14 brings us close to the Hittite stage of the Louvre seal Plate XIX, fig. 11. A figure with bird or caprine head and a fringed, cloak-like wing holds a handleless vessel as he confronts two official longrobed male figures. Here the hybrid figure has been given a ceremonial function comparable to that of his Hittite bird-headed counterparts, although less specifically tied to a known ritual. On another seal (Nuzi 791) a stream is flowing from the vase held by the griffin man. The question raised

21 Kurt Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (Munich, 1976), pp. 174–177; Jutta Börker-Klähn, *Alt Vorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs* (Mainz, 1982) pp. 261–262.

22 R.M. Boehmer, *Die Reliefkeramik von Boğazköy* (Berlin, 1983), pl. X, 25, pp. 28–29.

23 Sedat Alp, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Series VI:23; Ankara, 1983), passim.

24 Edith Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi* (Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 24, 1944–45, New Haven, 1947), pp. 18,

74–80, 121–122, No. 93. H.T. Bossert, *Janus und der Mann mit der Adler- oder Greifenmaske* (Istanbul, Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais V, 1959), pp. 15–18. F. Schachermeyr, *Ägäis und Orient* (Vienna, 1967), p. 31. M. and H. Erlenmeyer, "Über Philister und Kreter," *Orientalia* 33, 1964, p. 207. Barbara Parker Mallowan, "Magic and Ritual in the Northwest Palace Reliefs," *Essays on Near Eastern Art and Archaeology in Honor of Charles K. Wilkinson* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983) pp. 33–35, fig. 7.

by Edith Porada, whether such animal-headed and bird-headed figures as appear on the Nuzi seals represent masked priests performing a ritual or a ritual dance remains of much importance. In several Near Eastern contexts such disguises are attested both through texts and imagery. The magic of the disguise is the same as that of the artistic substitution of a hybrid cult servant for a human worshipper. Hittite and Hurrian texts may some day guide us in detailed analysis of masks and wings as ritual disguises. It may be postulated here that the Nuzi libation pourers side with the Old Hittite material and with the religious concepts behind it. The Nuzi seals are perhaps about a century later than the Old Hittite seals discussed here, but they are the easternmost offshoot of a ritual substitution most clearly documented and formulated in Hittite glyptic art.

At this stage we must have a look at the second relative, the so-called Minoan genius. The figure of this peculiar hybrid has often been studied and discussed and a derivation from the Egyptian hippopotamus goddess Taurt, Toeris has been made plausible by Evans.²⁵ The earliest known Aegean examples occur on seal impressions from the earlier palace at Phaistos, in an archive discovered many years after Evans's analysis.²⁶ The Phaistos seals show a lion in human pose, wearing a long mane with beaded fringe (Plate XX, fig. 15). The latter has little resemblance to the crocodile appendage on Taurt's back, but we may indeed be looking at a Minoan variant of a half familiar image of the Egyptian goddess, transmitted via trinkets and scarabs from Byblos. But Taurt has already been given new responsibility. As soon as she enters the Minoan repertoire she has a clear association with libation. And as she becomes the Minoan genius, this Aegean demon from the earliest Minoan to the latest Mycenaean examples maintains a strong responsibility as a cult servant carrying a spouted pitcher. The two pseudo-Taurts on the Phaistos sealings each hold a pitcher. The more elaborate sealing (Plate XX, fig. 15) shows branches in the field in front and behind; a small branch is stuck in the spout of the pitcher. This is not of Egyptian derivation. Taurt does not perform as an attendant in ceremonies to perform libations; the pitcher marks the Minoan genius as a relative of Anatolian cult servants. The Phaistos seals date to ca. 1750–1700 B.C., within the Egyptian second intermediate period, or in Anatolian terms, to the end of the Karum Ib era and the beginning of the Old Hittite Kingdom. We noted that some of the monkeys of Karum seals held pitchers with branches in reference to life-giving water (Plate XVII, fig. 2; Plate XVIII, figs. 6, 7). Minoan genii continue to appear with branches in cult scenes. The Vaphio lentoid Plate XX, fig. 16 dates to the early 15th century B.C. at the latest. Two genii, now in their standard costumes with wasp-waisted back shield, and still leonine in body, are poised heraldically flanking an altar with horns of consecration and branches as a center piece. No deity appears, but the genii are performing their duty as cult attendants. An amygdaloid from Vaphio (Plate XX, fig. 17) shows an individual pourer without further detail. He is a familiar symbolic figure. The pitchers in all these instances have fancy handles and profiles and may well be of precious metal.²⁷ Unlike the Karum

25 Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos* IV, 2 (London, 1935), pp. 433–440. M. Gill, "The Minoan Genius," *Athenische Mitteilungen* 79, 1964, pp. 1–21. F. T. van Straten, "The Minoan Genius in Mycenaean Greece," *Bulletin van de Vereeniging ... Antieke Beschaving* XLIV, 1969, pp. 110–121. F. Schachermeyr, *Ägäis und Orient* (Vienna, 1967), p. 31.

26 Ingo Pini, *Die Siegelabdrücke von Phästos* (Iraklion, Archäologisches Museum, Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel, II, 5, Berlin, 1970). Nos. 321 and 322.

27 Agnes Sakellariou, *Die Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel des Nationalmuseums in Athen* (Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel, I, Berlin, 1964), No. 231, 232. Martin P. Nilsson,

monkeys, and unlike the hybrid bird men, the Minoan demons have no hands, hence have to hold the pitchers by top and bottom.

The Minoans also introduced monkeys into their environment as real pets and in art. Their role is not as official as that of the Minoan genius. Fragmentary wall paintings like that of the Knossian "crocus gatherer" left us baffled until the discoveries at Akrotiri on Thera began to reveal more complete compositions in which large monkeys are romping around in gardens or in sacred precincts. In one instance a monkey is raising his forepaws towards a column and altar with horns of consecration, while other monkeys are busy in the same scene.²⁸ The paintings in Akrotiri Xeste 3 also put the monkey in symbolic cult context, performing human roles, one perhaps playing the lyre, another killing a viper with a golden sword. In the upper story, a seated goddess is approached by a monkey in human pose, climbing the steps of her platform. Behind her is a rampant griffin.²⁹ All of this Minoanizing imagery dates to the 16th century B.C. and shows that monkeys were thriving in the world of Minoan art in a more imaginative variety of ritual roles than ever developed in Anatolian or in official art of Egypt.

The Minoan genius also performed a variety of functions in the cult. He is concerned with the hunting and slaughtering of sacrificial animals.³⁰ Yet his most prominent and decorative function is the respectful carrying of the libation pitcher, even on Cyprus, where he is shown in attendance on a youthful master of birds and lions on a cylinder seal from Enkomi.³¹ In Mycenae, he begins to pour his libations to the "sacred tree" as a forerunner of Assyrian griffin-men.³²

The most official document for the ritual function of the Aegean demon is the gold ring from Tiryns (Plate XX, fig. 18).³³ This is the largest Aegean signet ring known. Its seal face measures 3.5 x 5.7 cm., well deserving the name of cult seal, made for a special religious purpose and probably for a specific shrine. It was found in secondary context in the Tiryns hoard. The design is explicit: a procession of four demons, each carrying a spouted pitcher, approaches a seated goddess whose costume, folding chair, footstool and bird all help to place her firmly in the Mycenaean world. Branches separate the demons. An altar stand supports a vessel in front of the goddess. She raises a tall flaring goblet in anticipation of the libation brought by the procession. The dado provides an architectural (religious?) setting, the background alludes once more to vegetation and adds astral bodies. We have come a long way from the Karum seals, from the Old Hittite ritualistic libations by hybrid stand-ins for priests and royalty, yet the Aegean series ends up as it began, in clear affinity to Anatolian ritual imagery, with a bold and consistent substitution of the magic hybrid for a human libation pourer.

The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion (Lund, 1950), p. 147, pp. 376–381.

28 S. Marinatos, *Excavations in Thera*, II (Athens, 1969), pp. 53–54, fig. 43.

29 S. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera*, VII (Athens, 1976), pp. 26–27, and personal communication from Dr. Nanno Marinatos, May 1983.

30 Martin P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (Lund, 1950), pp. 377–381.

31 Ingo Pini, "Kypro-Ägäische Rollsiegel," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 95, 1980, p. 80, No. A 7 with comparanda.

32 *Archaeological Reports for 1966–1967*, No. 13 (British School of Archaeology at Athens) p. 9, fig. 13, a steatite mould. For the link with Assyrian genii see Barbara Parker Mallowan, *op. cit.* (supra note 24) pp. 32–39.

33 Agnes Sakellariou, *Die Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel des Nationalmuseums in Athen* (Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel, I, Berlin, 1964), No. 179, with bibliography.

'Very Like a Whale' – Classical Sea Monsters

John Boardman

"Now the Lord had prepared a great fish to swallow up Jonah. And Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights . . . and the Lord spake unto the fish and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land" (Jonah 1.17 and 2.10). The word for the great fish in biblical Hebrew is *dag* which tells us no more than that it was a fish, and there was no distinct word for whale, 'Leviathan' then having other connotations. In Greek the great fish is called *ketos*, a word applied to whales, dolphins, tunny and various defined and undefined monsters with or without mythological functions or significance.¹ It is one particular version of these monsters that is the subject of this lecture, and Jonah introduces us to it because it was chosen by artists of the third century A.D. to depict Jonah's great fish.

It is at its best in the two fine third- or fourth-century marble statuettes in the Cleveland Museum of Art.² In one, Jonah is being swallowed. In the other he is being disgorged (Plate XXI, fig. 1).

A whale is a fairly shapeless creature. Hamlet could persuade Polonius that a cloud could look like a camel, or a weasel, or very like a whale – whence the title of this lecture. Jonah's great fish is very unlike a whale, however. It has a long dog-like muzzle with a squishy snout, long ears, a crest, a lion's forelegs, a fishy body and tail, and – an unconventional and inappropriate feature – wings instead of fins, but beneath its chin appears a fin recalling gills,

ABBREVIATIONS

- ABV J.D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1956)
AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*
ARV J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*² (Oxford, 1963)
BCH *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
CVA *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*
JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* I– (Zürich, 1981–)

1 References and sources given in these notes are of necessity highly selective. A fuller iconographic account will appear s.v. 'Ketos' in *LIMC* V (forthcoming). Useful discussions are by A. Rumpf

in *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* V.1 Die Meerwesen (Berlin, 1939) 112–21, and K. Shepard, *The Fish-tailed Monster in Greek and Etruscan Art* (New York, 1940) See also O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* I (Leipzig, 1909) 409–14 and D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (London, 1947) 114. I have had virtually to ignore here many related sea-monsters, such as the hippocamp, whose animal foreparts are 'real', as well as the ketos' role in the heavens.

2 John L. Severance Fund 65.237 and 238 W.D. Wixom, *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* March 1967, 67–88, figs. 25–8; K. Weitzmann, *The Age of Spirituality* (New York, 1979) nos. 365–6.

such as also spring from the elbows of the forelegs. The neck is comparatively narrow, the body not capacious enough, one might judge, for a sojourn of three days and three nights, yet it is this monster, or slight variants upon it, which attends Jonah in many other representations of the third to sixth century A.D. and occasionally thereafter.³

This incongruous type for Jonah's whale had been adopted because it had been established for nearly a millennium in Greek and Roman art with only slight changes in appearance and function. Here we survey first its appearance in Greek and Roman art, the myths it serves, and its various decorative functions. Then, we examine its early history in Greece and try to define how it was that it adopted its canonic form. And finally we pursue it outside the Greco-Roman world.

First a general prescription for it, so that we can allow for variants in detail. Its tail is fishy, either a dolphin-like crescent, or fuller and fish-like. Its body is serpentine and often scaly with a cushioned underpart, but it may sometimes be given a deeper chest and belly before its long writhing tail. It sometimes has two forelegs like a lion, but these may also take the form of flippers, or it may borrow horse-legs from its cousin the hippocamp. It may have small fins along its body, and often has a spiny back crest. The neck may carry a ruff of spines or angular plates like gills. The ears are usually long and pointed, the forehead lours. The muzzle takes different forms in different periods — like a lion, a dog, a fish, a pig, but a common feature is the furrowed snout, often upturned nose and wicked teeth. A little goatee beard is sometimes worn, or finny gills beneath the lower jaw. It must be distinguished from anything with four legs, or a variety of land-based serpents without fishy tails but sometimes with roughly similar heads. These are, moreover, often winged, while wings, for a *ketos*, are exceptional, and are probably inspired by fins rather than the result of sober reflection on the part of the artist about the nature of the beast.

Its commonest Classical function is as transport for Nereids — the daughters of the sea god Nereus who are often shown riding it. The prime mythological occasion is their carriage of fresh armour to Troy for their nephew Achilles, son of the senior Nereid, Thetis. We start with examples from either end of its Classical career, to demonstrate how little and how much it changed over a millennium.

On the so-called Projecta casket in the British Museum, of the fourth century A.D., Projecta sits below Aphrodite, the Christian lady compared with the pagan goddess, born from the waves on her shell. The goddess is accompanied by sea creatures and on one side of the lid is a fine *ketos* bearing a Nereid (Plate XXII, fig. 2). Notice the pointed snout, the head, the lion-legs.⁴

3 On the subject see M. Lawrence, *AJA* 66 (1962) 289–96; Weitzmann, *op. cit.* (last n.) nos. 361, 369, 371, 377, 384–5, 390; E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* V (New York, 1956) 29–38, 47. I am indebted to Professor James Barr for notes on biblical names for sea-monsters.

4 London, BM (Mediaeval) 66.12.29.1: K. J. Shelton, *The Esquiline Treasure* (London, 1981) pl. 5; Weitzmann, *op. cit.* (n. 2) no. 310; *Wealth of the Roman World* (London, BM 1977) no. 88. Cf. also the fine seventh-century silver flask,

Leningrad, Hermitage ω 256 with a tusked *ketos* bearing the Nereid: *ibid.*, no. 161; J. Beckwith, *Art of Constantinople* (London, 1961) fig. 64, W. F. Volbach, *Frühchristliche Kunst* (Munich, 1958) pl. 253. It continues as a decorative motif in Byzantine art, for instance on belt buckles, as M. C. Ross, *Cat. of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* II (Washington, 1965) pl. 14 H (pointed out to me by Dr David Castriota), and will re-emerge at the end of this paper.

Of about the same date, on the big silver dish from Mildenhall in the British Museum, there is another in a marine procession. It has the upturned snout, rather like a horn — a feature which may suggest the horn or tusks which are sported by some late ketea — and the deep body but skinny neck.⁵

Some 700 years earlier, in the fourth century B.C., we see it, with flippers, on a South Italian vase from Ruvo (Plate XXII, fig. 3).⁶ South Italy loved the type, but there are plentiful examples in homeland Greek art — on the Classical clay 'Melian' plaques⁷, on a mosaic from Olynthus⁸, on wooden appliques fastened to coffins in South Russia⁹, and on jewelry. A fine Classical gem in New York has one with streamers on its fins, which look like wings.¹⁰ On Greek coins the Western Greeks again take the lead in their use of the monster, usually as a subsidiary device, as on coins of Syracuse¹¹, and in Greece they appear in Crete at Itanos¹² and in Caria on coins of Syangela.¹³ It would be very easy to multiply examples.

When we turn to ketea of the Roman period we find a generally fleshier, deeper-chested beast, losing its mane, but gaining its lion-forelegs, and with its elongated snout sometimes turning into tusks.

There are plentiful examples on sarcophagi¹⁴ and mosaics, especially those of North Africa where they often grow tusks (Plate XXII, fig. 4).¹⁵ And the most famous example must be the small ketos nestling in the lap of Thetis or Amphitrite on the relief-glass Portland vase in London.¹⁶

There are numerous decorative uses too in the Greek world: as embroidered decoration on dress, revealed on vase paintings or on the sculpted dress of the cult statues at Lycosoura¹⁷,

5 *Wealth of the Roman World* (last n.) no. 54. J.W. Brailsford, *The Mildenhall Treasure* (London, 1947, 1955) no. 1.

6 Ruvo J 1500; H. Sichtermann, *Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien aus der Sammlung Jatta in Ruvo* (Tübingen, 1966) pl. 131a; A.D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-figured Vases of Apulia I* (Oxford, 1978) 403, 43, about 350 B.C. They are particularly common on Campanian black figure vases, as F.P. Badoni, *Ceramica Campana* (Florence, 1968) pls. 11.6, 14, 40.

7 P. Jacobsthal, *Die melischen Reliefs* (Berlin, 1931) pl. 11.

8 D.M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus XII* (Baltimore, 1946) col. pl. 3.

9 M. Vaulina and A. Wasowicz, *Bois grecs et romains de l'Ermitage* (Wrocław, 1974) pls. 72–83.

10 New York, Metropolitan Museum 41.160. 437; J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (London, 1970) pl. 488. Other interesting examples on gems or related objects: *ibid.*, pl. 822 (gold on blue glass bezel); *Getty Journal* 1 (1974) 30, fig. 3a (silver ring); M.L. Vollenweider, *Die Steinschneidekunst* (Baden-Baden, 1966) pls. 30.3 (cameo by Alexas, with steering oar) and 4 (cameo,

with Hesione), 65.1 (amethyst, bearing Aphrodite), 77.5 (carnelian, bearing woman); M. Klaus et al. (edd.), *Fest. H. Jankuhn* (Neumünster, 1968) 108, nos. 2–3 (amber); H.P. Bühler, *Antike Gefäße aus Edelsteinen* (Mainz, 1973) no. 67 (onyx vase).

11 E.g. C.M. Kraay and M. Hirmer, *Greek Coins* (London, 1966) fig. 83; cf. figs. 85 and 71 (Himera).

12 *Ibid.* fig. 546 and *British Museum Catalogue of Coins Crete* pl. 13.1–3.

13 J.M. Cook, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 52 (1957) 95–6, pl. 23a; O. Mørkholm and J. Zahle, *Acta Archaeologica* 43 (1972) 78, 100.

14 Rumpf, *op. cit.* (n. 1); H. Wrede in *Fest. für G. Kleiner* (Tübingen, 1976) 147–78.

15 E.g. K.M.D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Oxford, 1978) pls. 2.3, 5.9, 50.129. Our Fig. 4, *ibid.*, 270, 13(b), late 2nd century A.D.

16 D.E.L. Haynes, *JHS* 88 (1968) 61–2, pl. 4. For Amphitrite's control of ketea cf. *Odysseus' fears in Odyssey* 5, 421–2.

17 F. von Lorentz, *Römische Mitteilungen* 52 (1937) 173–5; *AJA* 38 (1934) pl. 10 (Lycosoura).

or the head alone used as a figure cup in Tarentine studios¹⁸, or as a waterspout in clay or stone in the west again¹⁹. The variety and range of these Greek and Roman objects and scenes with the beast are almost infinitely extensible.

So far the only Classical mythological setting to which we have admitted these ketea has been that of the Nereids who ride them, carrying new arms and armour for Achilles, or of Amphitrite. Otherwise they served as mounts, escorts or familiars for a variety of marine divinities. For their role on other mythological occasions, we confine attention to the Classical Greek and Roman period, though there will be opportunity to pursue some of these episodes into earlier centuries.

Even with the marine gods they may serve specific functions, notably as support in battles or assaults. When Amymone went to fetch water from a spring near Argos she was surprised by a satyr who attempted to molest her. The god Poseidon, happening by, rescued her, but proceeded to consummate what the satyr had merely attempted. On a fine fourth-century B.C. clay relief, probably taken from a piece of metalwork, found in recent years at Knossos, we find the sea god pursuing the girl and by his side a ketos who helps by seizing her flying dress in its mouth (Plate XXIII, fig. 5)²⁰. The ketos seems also to have helped Poseidon in more honourable encounters, as in the battle of gods and giants: there are two on an Etruscan bronze box attachment in the Villa Giulia.²¹

When ketea carry Nereids who bear new armour for Achilles they are serving the Nereids' sister Thetis. We have seen how a ketos could be her familiar or pet, but it also fought for her on the occasion of her first meeting with Achilles' father, Peleus. He had to wrestle with the girl to justify his mortal presumption in claiming the hand of an immortal. She was able to change herself into fire or water or any form she chose. In Greek art the transformation is, at best, no more than occasional flames from her shoulders, and lions or snakes who help her in the match. The ketos generally only attends or watches, but sometimes he can join in too. There is a good example on the name vase of the Eretria Painter, in Athens, in the 420's B.C. (Plate XXIII, fig. 6).²²

Another special marine application of the ketos image is with the monster Skylla, who was generally shown as a woman from the waist up, and below, a variety of ravaging dogs and serpents seizing passing sailors. In some representations, from the fourth century on, it is ketea who take the place of the dogs. This seems a speciality of the Western Greeks.²³

18 H. Hoffmann, *Tarentine Rhyta* (Mainz, 1966) 73, pl. 43.1–4; H. Termer, *Katalog I* (Hamburg, December, 1982) no. 50a.

19 H.C. Allen, *Opuscula Romana* 9 (1973) 78–84; *Notizie degli Scavi* 1956, 349, figs. 7–8.

20 LIMC I s.v. 'Amymone' no. 26, pl. 600 for the Knossos relief and cf. no. 55 (Etruscan mirror).

21 *Il Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia* (Rome, 1980) 167 fig. 212. Also supporting Poseidon on the Faliscan red figure vase, H. Bloesch (ed.), *Greek Vases from the Hirschmann Collection* (Zurich, 1982) no. 42.

22 Athens, NM 1629: *Archaiologike Ephemeris* 1897, pl. 9.1; ARV 1250, 34. Cf. also ARV

1475, 4, Marsyas Painter (London, BM E424) and 1032, 58, Polygnotos (L. Lacroix, *Etudes d'archéologie numismatique* (Paris, 1974) pls. 15–6).

23 A. Levi, *Le Terracotte figurate del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Florence, 1926) 68, fig. 63, clay flask; and P. Willeumier, *Le Trésor de Tarente* (Paris, 1930) pl. 13.6. R. Lullies, *Vergoldete Terrakotta-Appliken aus Tarent* (Heidelberg, 1962) 53. A. de Ridder, *Les Bronzes antiques du Louvre II* (Paris, 1915) pl. 76.1686, mirror handle. East Berlin MI 8391, relief mirror. E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* (Berlin, 1840–67) pl. 53. M. Fantar, *Eschatologie Phénicienne-Punique* (Tunis, 1970) pl. 20, clay medallion, Kerkouan.

All these examples are closely linked to the monster's function in the service of sea divinities, but its image served specific stories also, where it was no mere auxiliary.

Hesione was the sister of Priam of Troy. Their father Laomedon, who was prone to promise more than he was willing to fulfil, had his city walls built for him by Apollo and Poseidon and then failed to reward them. Poseidon sent a ketos which was washed ashore by a flood and carried off people from the Trojan Plain. An oracle told Laomedon that he could only deliver his city from these ravages by sacrificing to the beast his daughter Hesione, and she was accordingly chained to a rock to be devoured. Herakles killed the monster and released Hesione. Again, Laomedon broke his promise to reward Herakles with his divine mares, so Herakles made off, promising to return and sack the city, which he did. In Classical art Hesione's monster takes the expected form. It is interesting to notice that in literature the beast is amphibious, and in the *Iliad* the Trojans and Athena had to build Herakles an escape pen for when it emerged onto dry land to attack him.²⁴

Herakles as adversary creates some problems, however. On the late Hellenistic Delphi theatre frieze he fights a ketos. This used to be taken for an unusual version of the multi-headed Hydra. It is now generally regarded as Hesione's creature; but where is the girl?²⁵ From Pindar and Euripides on there is mention of Herakles clearing the seas of monsters²⁶, and although this never became a regular Labour, it is possible that this was the artist's intention at Delphi rather than the Hydra or the story of Hesione. If so, his choice of sea monster was inevitable — the ketos.

This was not the only occasion on which a ketos' appetite for a young woman was thwarted. The Ethiopian king Cepheus had a wife Cassiopeia who boasted that she was prettier than the Nereids. So Poseidon sent a flood and a monster to remind them of their place and deliverance was promised only if the king's daughter Andromeda was exposed for the monster to devour. Perseus, carrying the petrifying head of the gorgon Medusa, fell in love with Andromeda, and promised to release her if he could marry her. The monster is shown in Classical art, inevitably as our ketos, and Perseus slays it either with his sickle sword or with the gorgon head.²⁷ South Italy is a good source again, as on a fourth-century Apulian vase in Naples (Plate XXIII, fig. 7) Perseus dispatches the creature while above Andromeda is calmly observing from her point of vantage, fettered to two trees, admiring herself in a mirror propped against one of them.²⁸

It was, incidentally, at Jaffa on the Palestine coast that Andromeda was said to have been fettered; and it was from Jaffa that Jonah set sail.²⁹

24 F. Brommer, *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm* 1955, 3–15. A. Lesky, *Anzeiger, Österreich. Akad. Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 104 (1967) 1–6. *Iliad* 20, 147. The man climbing onto a ketos head on a red figure cup in Amsterdam remains unidentified: *Ars Antiqua* V (Luzern, 1964) pl. 32.127; J.D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford, 1971) 336.

25 P. Levêque, *BCH* 75 (1951) 247–8, 255 (for Hydra); P. Amandry, *Bull. Fac. Lettres de Strasbourg* 30 (1952) 306–7 (for Hesione); M. Sturgeon, *AJA* 82 (1978) 229, fig. 4.

26 Euripides, *Hercules Furens* 400–2. Discussion in edition by G.W. Bond (Oxford, 1981) 168–9.

27 K. Schauenburg, *Perseus in der Kunst des Altertums* (Bonn, 1960); K.M. Phillips, *AJA* 72 (1968) 1–23; *LIMC* I s.v. 'Andromeda'.

28 Naples, Mus. Naz. 3225; Trendall and Cambitoglou, *op. cit.* (n. 6) 500, 58. Darius Painter; M. Schmidt, *Der Dareiosmaler* (Münster, 1960) pl. 13; J.-M. Moret, *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique Italienne* (Rome, 1975) pl. 75.1.

29 L. Herrmann, *Grazer Beiträge* 1 (1973) 149–55 makes the association, suggesting that Jaffa was involved in the Atlantic whaling business. His theory that Herakles' adventure inspired Jonah's is based on a mistranslation of Lykophron, *Alexandra* 33, leading him to believe that Herakles

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Hesione was the sister of Priam of Troy. Their father Laomedon, who was prone to promise more than he was willing to fulfil, had his city walls built for him by Apollo and Poseidon and then failed to reward them. Poseidon sent a ketos which was washed ashore by a flood and carried off people from the Trojan Plain. An oracle told Laomedon that he could only deliver his city from these ravages by sacrificing to the beast his daughter Hesione, and she was accordingly chained to a rock to be devoured. Herakles killed the monster and released Hesione. Again, Laomedon broke his promise to reward Herakles with his divine mares, so Herakles made off, promising to return and sack the city, which he did. In Classical art Hesione's monster takes the expected form. It is interesting to notice that in literature the beast is amphibious, and in the *Iliad* the Trojans and Athena had to build Herakles an escape pen for when it emerged onto dry land to attack him²⁴

Herakles as adversary creates some problems, however. On the late Hellenistic Delphi theatre frieze he fights a ketos. This used to be taken for an unusual version of the multi-headed Hydra. It is now generally regarded as Hesione's creature; but where is the girl?²⁵ From Pindar and Euripides on there is mention of Herakles clearing the seas of monsters²⁶, and although this never became a regular Labour, it is possible that this was the artist's intention at Delphi rather than the Hydra or the story of Hesione. If so, his choice of sea monster was inevitable — the ketos.

This was not the only occasion on which a ketos' appetite for a young woman was thwarted. The Ethiopian king Cepheus had a wife Cassiopeia who boasted that she was prettier than the Nereids. So Poseidon sent a flood and a monster to remind them of their place and deliverance was promised only if the king's daughter Andromeda was exposed for the monster to devour. Perseus, carrying the petrifying head of the gorgon Medusa, fell in love with Andromeda, and promised to release her if he could marry her. The monster is shown in Classical art, inevitably as our ketos, and Perseus slays it either with his sickle sword or with the gorgon head.²⁷ South Italy is a good source again, as on a fourth-century Apulian vase in Naples (Plate XXIII, fig. 7) Perseus dispatches the creature while above Andromeda is calmly observing from her point of vantage, fettered to two trees, admiring herself in a mirror propped against one of them.²⁸

It was, incidentally, at Jaffa on the Palestine coast that Andromeda was said to have been fettered; and it was from Jaffa that Jonah set sail.²⁹

24 F. Brommer, *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm* 1955, 3–15. A. Lesky, *Anzeiger, Österreich. Akad. Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 104 (1967) 1–6. *Iliad* 20, 147. The man climbing onto a ketos head on a red figure cup in Amsterdam remains unidentified: *Ars Antiqua* V (Luzern, 1964) pl. 32.127; J.D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford, 1971) 336.

25 P. Levêque, *BCH* 75 (1951) 247–8, 255 (for Hydra); P. Amandry, *Bull. Fac. Lettres de Strasbourg* 30 (1952) 306–7 (for Hesione); M. Sturgeon, *AJA* 82 (1978) 229, fig. 4.

26 Euripides, *Hercules Furens* 400–2. Discussion in edition by G.W. Bond (Oxford, 1981) 168–9.

27 K. Schauenburg, *Perseus in der Kunst des Altertums* (Bonn, 1960); K.M. Phillips, *AJA* 72 (1968) 1–23; *LIMC* I s.v. 'Andromeda'.

28 Naples, Mus. Naz. 3225; Trendall and Cambitoglou, *op. cit.* (n. 6) 500, 58. Darius Painter; M. Schmidt, *Der Dareiosmaler* (Münster, 1960) pl. 13; J.-M. Moret, *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique Italienne* (Rome, 1975) pl. 75.1.

29 L. Herrmann, *Grazer Beiträge* 1 (1973) 149–55 makes the association, suggesting that Jaffa was involved in the Atlantic whaling business. His theory that Herakles' adventure inspired Jonah's is based on a mistranslation of Lykophron, *Alexandra* 33, leading him to believe that Herakles

It is time now to consider the origins of our ketos - and by this I mean the origins of the iconographic type. This means dismissing with a mention a number of other interesting aspects of its history. For instance, the way Greek authors as early as Hesiod tried to create a mythological creature called Keto, with parents Land and Sea; and offspring a variety of monsters. But this Keto is a literary creation and the only possible expression of her in art appears, following Erika Simon's interesting suggestion, on the Great Altar at Pergamon, where a ketos (with broken muzzle) and a lion fight the giants beside a woman, who may be Keto, and if so is quite unfishy.³⁰ But in other respects too the Great Altar frieze seems a very text-conscious work, out of the main stream of iconographic convention.

Then there is the problem of the Greek stories of sea monsters and their behaviour, and their relationship to similar stories of the Near East: to Tiamat, dragon of chaos (the proto-type of Jonah's great fish that for a while swallows Israel); or the beast fought by Marduk; to Illuyankas, fought by the Hittite weather god; to Baal's opponent in Ugarit myth; and to Leviathan.

We must also pass over the possible Near Eastern background of the physical appearance of our beast. His forepart bears a certain resemblance to the Babylonian dragon but the Greek beast *comes* to look like it, rather than *starts* looking like it. There are some apparently dog-headed monsters in the Bronze Age too, and in the Greek world.³¹ The links between all these are tenuous, but might be real. Nor can we consider our beast's relationship to real or imagined sea monsters since we can show that his creation is an artistic amalgam not much troubled by what swam or was thought to swim in the Mediterranean. These Classical waters had their stories of monsters, similar to stories told of many other places and times.³²

The first Greek sea monsters who seem likely progenitors of the Classical ketos appear around the middle of the seventh century B.C. and are tripartite, with lions' heads. A school of them appears on a Proto-attic vase fragment of before the mid-century in Boston, the heads in parallel (Plate XXIII, fig. 8).³³ And on a Proto-corinthian vase from Francavilla in South Italy we get one with the heads in series, and the lion fore-paws (Plate XXIII, fig. 9).³⁴ The latter are to remain a common feature, and the lion head had been adopted for other serpentine although not fishy creatures.

The monster, one-headed, serves as mount for a man on a bronze shield-band relief from the Athenian Acropolis, of perhaps 600 B.C.³⁵ It has filled out and the muzzle is longer. The artist is no more trying to make it a lion head, but it is not obviously anything else. Later still in the sixth century on a clay plaque dedicated at Penteskouphia near Corinth, the

also lived in the monster for three days, and the assumption that since the Hesione story is alluded to in Homer, all elements of it (including this illusory one) were current so early.

30 Hesiod, *Theogony* 238, 270-336. E. Simon, *Pergamon und Hesiod* (Mainz, 1975) 15, pl. 5 (of reviewers, E.B. Harrison in *AJA* 82 (1978) 567 is in favour, F. Brommer in *Gymnasium* 24 (1977) 469 against).

31 S. Marinatos, *Archaiologikon Deltion* 10 (1926) 51-62; J. Poursat, *BCH* 100 (1976) 461-74.

32 E.g. Pausanias 9, 20, 4-5, a monster at Tanagra, and 9, 21, 1 for his description of a Triton at Rome.

33 Boston MFA 6.67; E. Vermeule, *AJA* 75 (1971) pl. 70 and *Aspects of Death* (Berkeley, 1979) 185, fig. 7.

34 M. Stoop, *Atti e Mem. Soc. Magna Grecia* 11/12 (1970/1) 57, fig. 4, pl. 23.

35 Athens NM 6968; *Olympia-Bericht* I (Berlin, 1937) 60, fig. 25.

upper jaw is lion-like, but elongated and the lower jaw pointed.³⁶ It has little lion ears and above them something spiny, not horns but ear-like fins and a crest. Here too is the goatee beard, borrowed from snakes, with the scaly body, suiting snake or fish. That this is fishy is clear from its rider, with trident, the waves below and dolphin before.

But the monster had already been called upon to play its part in myth. On a Corinthian vase in East Berlin of the second quarter of the sixth century, its head, white but with a profile like the last, and now clearly labelled Ketos, faces Perseus who is throwing stones at him, with a pile of ammunition on the ground and Andromeda holding more stones (Plate XXIV, fig. 10).³⁷

Meanwhile, on another and poorer Corinthian vase in Boston (Plate XXIV, fig. 11), his cousin gapes balefully from a rocky cave while Hesione again throws stones, and Herakles sends in a volley of arrows. But this is a shapeless, unworthy head.³⁸

There is, however, in this period an alternative ketos type to this doggy leonine one. It has a very pointed muzzle, more like a fish or shark than a snake. It was not unknown in Corinth, as we can see on a fine Corinthian vase of the third quarter of the seventh century from Mylai in Sicily.³⁹ No animal legs here, and the forehead knob is an oddity, perhaps borrowed from a griffin. Several others with the pointed muzzle appear in the Greek islands, on the so-called Island Gems, mainly of the latest seventh and early sixth century. We have the forepart of one, with lion legs, on a gem in London and a whole one, without legs, in New York swimming beneath a boat.⁴⁰ It is this type, with a fine crest and legs, which swims on a superb gold finger ring in Munich.⁴¹ This was found in Etruria but is of East Greek workmanship of about 500 B.C.

Crete is very fond of the creature, and we can find on Cretan works one of our earliest ketea, and, I think, the gradual conflation of the two types – leonine and pointed muzzle – through the second half of the seventh century and earliest sixth.

First, on a mid-seventh-century relief pithos fragment in Copenhagen (Plate XXIV, fig. 12).⁴² A lion head, no legs, but notice what looks like a flat hat but is really, I think, a crest. The intermediate types appear on Cretan bronze armour.⁴³ Finally, in Crete, on the sixth-century bronze gorgoneion from Dreros in Herakleion Museum, we see a wholly pointed muzzle of island type, forked tongue and, unusually, the body coiled, a feature not otherwise looked for before the fourth century.⁴⁴

36 Shepard, *op. cit.* (n. 1) fig. 41; Vermeule, *Aspects of Death* (see n. 33) 190, fig. 13.

37 Berlin F 1652; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* III (Munich, 1923) fig. 190; LIMC I s.v. 'Andromeda I' no. 1, pl. 622.

38 Boston MFA 63.420; Vermeule, *Aspects of Death* (see n. 33) 194, fig. 16; *The Trojan War in Greek Art* (Boston, 1965) no. 2.

39 L. B. Brea and M. Cavalier, *Mylai* (Novara, 1959) pl. 44.1–3.

40 J. Boardman, *Island Gems* (London, 1963) nos. 101, pl. 4 (London 164) and no. 293, pl. 10 (New York 42.11.11); Boardman, *op. cit.* (n. 10) pls. 259, 244. Cf. *JHS* 88 (1968) pl. 2.222.

41 Munich 2409; J. Boardman, *Antike Kunst* 10 (1967) pl. 6. G1; Boardman, *op. cit.* (n. 10) pl. 433.

42 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg I.N.3374; *Ars Antiqua* V (Luzern, 1964) no. 105; M. Gjedesen in *Art and Technology* (edd. S. Doeringer et al.; Cambridge, Mass., 1970) 150, fig. 5; H. Hoffmann, *Early Cretan Armourers* (Mainz, 1972) pl. 51.2.

43 Hoffmann, *op. cit.* (last n.): note the crested serpents on pls. 2, 3 and the lion head of pl. 8; pls. 14–15 has the ketos (though with forked tongue) and there is the simpler version with fishy tail on pl. 21.

44 *BCH* 60 (1930) pl. 29.

Amid these we should probably place, as Cretan of about 600, an extraordinary and handsome little figure vase in Basel (Plate XXIV, fig. 13).⁴⁵ The form of the vase must owe something to Corinth. Its long ears are more like a hare's, but we have the familiar muzzle, striped belly and scales, and now what look like two folded flippers.

Before we come to the last main group of early ketea, on Athenian vases, there is one exceptional version to be mentioned, on an exceptional vase — one of the so-called Caeretan hydriae, apparently made in Etruria by immigrant East Greek artists at the end of the sixth century. It is in a private collection near Zurich (Plate XXIV, fig. 14). By far the finest and most colourful of all our ketea, it swims in a sea otherwise occupied by two dolphins, an octopus and a friendly seal. It has no legs but big flipper-like gills and the flipper-like ear we have observed twice already. It faces a naked hero armed with stones and sickle. Professor Isler, who has published the vase, thinks he is Perseus, who may certainly use stones against the ketos, as we have seen, and a sickle, but he is usually also dressed with his important attributes of bag, hat and boots. Herakles also used a sickle against his ketos and on the Corinthian vase Hesione throws stones while he shoots. And he is often naked. This is surely Herakles. His fight with a ketos happened in East Greece, off Troy, so is a good subject for an East Greek artist. The seal puts us in mind of the East Greek seal-city, Phocaea, and the devices of its coins.⁴⁶

In the Archaic period the ketos has few but clearly defined functions on Athenian vases. As Thetis' familiar or aide it appears with a lion head and frilly mane on several scenes of the fight with Peleus.⁴⁷ It is this distinctive frilly mane to the lion head which also enables us to recognise as a ketos head the shield blazon which appears on many vases from about the mid-sixth century to the mid-fifth. On these the frills curl.⁴⁸ In Athens it is the dumpy lion-ketos that is favoured; elsewhere, as we have seen, varieties with lion head or pointed muzzle, fishy or serpentine, and often with lion forelegs. But Athens has more to offer, of some significance. In the one early Attic scene of Herakles with Hesione on a cup of about 520 in Taranto (Plate XXV, fig. 15) Herakles seems ready to cut off the monster's tongue with a sickle while Hesione stands beside him.⁴⁹ The creature's head is barely leonine though it has traces of a mane. More important, its scaly jaws gape open, as if to invite Herakles in.

It is an odd motif but we see it again on a fourth-century Etruscan vase, where, and this is just as important, only the head is shown (Plate XXV, fig. 16).⁵⁰ Note particularly the curly

45 *Auktion* 40 (Münzen und Medaillen, Basel, 1969) no. 47 (as Corinthian); *Dadatische Kunst auf Kreta* (Mainz, 1970) pl. 50a.

46 Bloesch, op. cit. (n. 21) no. 10; J. M. Hemelrijk, *Caeretan Hydriai* (Mainz, 1983) pls. 103–4. Hemelrijk thinks the scene may refer to a local Phocaean myth, with the girl-seal the rescued victim.

47 E.g. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi* (Paris, 1936) 252, no. 59, Theseus Painter, pl. 42.4 (Syracuse 33501) and no. 68 (London, BM 1904.7-8.5; *JHS* 31 (1911) 12, fig. 10); Naples H 2535 (CVA I pl. 3.3–4; *ABV* 607). Head only — CVA London IV pl. 52.1 (*ABV* 286, 1); CVA Lei-

den I pl. 8; C. Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano* (Rome, 1925–39) no. 425, pl. 65.

48 Finest on Athena's shield on Berlin F 1698 (*ABV* 136, 54; Pfuhl, op. cit. (n. 37) fig. 277). Otherwise more lion-like, as on CVA Munich VIII pl. 386.3 (389.1); Tarquinia II pl. 41.2; Vienna II pl. 72.1; Robinson Coll. II pl. 11.

49 Taranto 52155; CVA III pl. 24; Brommer, op. cit. (n. 24) pl. 3; J. Boardman, *Attic Black Figure Vases* (London, 1974) fig. 179. On the tongue-cutting see Lesky, op. cit. (n. 24) and M. J. Milne, *AJA* 60 (1956) 301–2.

50 Perugia, Mus. Arch. Naz.; J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting* (Oxford, 1947) 124, 1.

nose. Perhaps this is what any ketos might have looked like if it had to open wide, but it looks a different creature somehow, created for occasions where a gaping mouth was required.

Ships too can teach us about the ketos. The forepart of a Greek warship may be stylised or decorated as though it is a boar's head. The association of the familiar ramming manoeuvre by warships and the charge of a boar is enough to explain it. In the early sixth century a Corinthian amphora has two ships with heads which remind one a little of other Corinthian ketea.⁵¹ Nearer the end of the century an Athenian vase offers a warship, threatening a merchantman, with a wicked-looking ram which is clearly a ketos head.⁵² Moreover, the head has the long furrowed snout which is so common later but barely hinted at hitherto. And in the Kanellopoulos Collection in Athens we even have a bronze ketos snout, 35.5 cm long, which has been thought to be actually from a ship's ram.⁵³

Here, then, is another ingredient for our Classical ketos. All the other ingredients have proved explicable in terms of other creatures – the head, a lion's, or dog's or snake's; the legs, a lion's; the long ears not so easily definable, but at least they are clearly a quadruped's ears, and we are reminded of the graceful long ears given to griffins in the Archaic period; other ingredients are fishy, various fins, gills, flippers, a spiny mane (also borrowed for griffins from about 500) and the tail. For the shape of the head and the spiny mane I am sure the tiny sea-horse had something to contribute, and in some representations of the ketos the artist clearly had it in mind too.⁵⁴ One more element is to be added – the pig or boar. The prime example is the ketos which accompanies Amphitrite on the west pediment of the Parthenon. It has been reconstructed by Professor Yalouris from fragments only recognised in recent years.⁵⁵ In early drawings it looks quite unrecognisable, but the head is clearly that of a boar or pig. Why it should have been chosen is obscure. The only parallel we have seen is in the boar's-head rams, but the upturned, squashy snout may have helped suggest the beast, and there is something quite piglike in some of the later Classical and Roman ketea.

We are left, then, only with the long corrugated snout, which remains characteristic of most ketea, to explain. Lions wrinkle their muzzles in Greek art as in life, but these jaws are a far cry from a lion's. I cannot help thinking of a crocodile, and it is not impossible that the Greek artist did too. Egypt and its mysteries were becoming well familiar to the Greeks from the seventh century on. Figurines of crocodiles could easily have been imported, or pictures in various media, even the mummified creature itself, as a curiosity. Aesop knew the crocodile, and by the mid-fifth century an Athenian could show one mauling a black in much the way a ketos is shown attacking Peleus with Thetis.⁵⁶ The long, thin, crinkly muzzle seems right, the jutting forehead and deep set eyes. So too the cushioned belly, while the stumpy legs are not unlike a lion's. Knowledge of the monster of the Nile could well have been used by the Greek artist to enhance and improve his favourite sea monster.

Now we pursue our ketos out of the Classical world in time and place. First, briefly, an area virtually within the Classical world so far as its art is concerned, but not of it – Etruria.

51 U. Gehrig, *Antiken aus Berliner Privatsammlungen* (Berlin, 1975) no. 204.

52 London BM B 436; Boardman, *op. cit.* (n. 10) fig. 180; *JHS* 78 (1958) pls. 5, 6.

53 Kanellopoulos Coll. inv. 138 M.S. Brouskari, *To Mouseio Paulou kai Alexandras Kanellopoulos* (1985) 46.

54 Cf. E. Boehringer, *Die Münzen von Syrakus* (Berlin, 1929) 84–90.

55 E. Berger (ed.), *Parthenon-Kongress Basel* (Mainz, 1984) 281–3, pls. 28–9.

56 E. Buschor, *Das Krokodil des Sotades* (Munich, 1919); *ARV* 764. 6

Etruscan art starts as an amalgam of native, which had no figure tradition to speak of, with Greek and Oriental. The Greek soon predominates. There are isolated instances of the Greek ketos on Etruscan works in the late Archaic period. Later, the creature appears most notably on stone urns, where there are some superb heads for Andromeda⁵⁷; and on many a bronze box, of the type normally associated with Praeneste.⁵⁸ The Morgan Library has one of the finest examples.⁵⁹ Its lid has a handle cast in the form of a naked girl acrobat. On one side of her a Nereid rides a hippocamp, which is a common subject on these boxes, with our ketea. On the other side we see a fine ketos, also harnessed and ridden, but now by a naked man carrying a big wine-mixing bowl (Plate XXVI, fig. 17). He is hard to name. The fat satyr seated beside him, though, is called Ebrios, drunkard.

North of Greece and by the shores of the Black Sea is Thrace, where the legless ketos is adopted. He can just be recognised bearing a Nereid on a gilt-silver plaque from Letnitsa, in a decidedly provincial style.⁶⁰ He looks better incised on Thracian armour.⁶¹

Farther off, in the land of the Scythians, it is usually a more Greek ketos that is seen, sometimes legless and often winged.⁶² Here too we find a number of lion- or ketos-head plaques which are very close indeed to the ketos heads observed as shield devices on Athenian sixth-century vases.⁶³ And in Europe a La Tène drinking horn with bronze attachments shows how strongly the Classical ketos can survive translation.⁶⁴

Turn east now with Alexander the Great and his successors, and the Hellenistic Roman arts which they carried with them to the Indian sub-continent. Best by elephant, and on a Greco-Bactrian silver disc there is a ketos of the familiar type swimming on his saddle cloth.⁶⁵ But we have yet farther to travel. Our concern is with two major centres of North Indian Buddhist art in the early centuries A.D.: one centred on Gandara, one on Mathura.

The art of Gandara has many of its decorative motifs derived directly from the Classical world, and the fine series of stone reliefs depicting the life and works of Buddha and other subjects owe not a little to Roman traditions in historical narrative relief, transmitted to the East in minor arts. The Classical ketos is certainly here, and often still with his Nereid or her distant cousin.⁶⁶ At Mathura our ketos appears again, still being ridden, in a very Classical

57 E.g. H. Brunn and G. Körte, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche II* (Rome/Berlin, 1890) pls. 39, 40. Some odd Etruscan uses are the ketos-cap on coins of Vetulonia (L. Banti, *Studi Etruschi* 5 (1931) 91–3); ketea on a wheeled hearth (W. Hornbostel, *Kunst der Etrusker* (Hamburg, 1981) no. 81).

58 G. Foerst, *Die Gravierungen der Praenestischen Cisten* (Rome, 1978) 65–6. G. Matthies, *Die Praenestischen Spiegel* (Strasbourg, 1912) 128; bearing a winged woman and a naked woman with fan on stone urns from Palazzone: C. Galli, *Perugia, Il Museo Funerario del Palazzone all'Ipo-geo dei Volumni* (Florence, 1921) 107–12, figs. 67–72.

59 Foerst, op. cit. (last n.) 144–6, no. 39, pl. 31b.

60 L. Venedikov and T. Gerasimov, *Thracian Art Treasures* (Sofia, 1975) fig. 287.

61 *BCH* 85 (1961) 515, fig. 9.

62 *From the Lands of the Scythians* (New York, 1975) no. 75 (and cf. no. 126). Cf. E. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1913) 155, fig. 42; 211, fig. 111; 427, fig. 318.

63 E.g. on felt from Pazirik, T. Talbot-Rice, *The Scythians* (London, 1957) 175, fig. 64.

64 *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 94 (1979) 384, fig. 10, from Hungary.

65 K. Trever, *Pamyatniki Greko-Baktriiskogo Iskusstva* (Moscow/Leningrad, 1940) pls. 1, 2. I pass over what the ketos may have contributed to the Sassanian *senmurw*, which has a forepart like a ketos, the tail of a peacock: cf. H.P. Schmidt, *Persica* 9 (1980) 1–85.

66 H. Buchtal, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 31 (1945) 151–76, figs. 5–7. H. Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan* (New York, 1957) fig. 484, cf. 394. J.H. Marshall, *Taxila II* (Cambridge, 1951) 496, no. 76 and III, pl. 145.76.

frieze of marine creatures (Plate XXVI, fig. 18).⁶⁷ But there is a new threat to his existence and perhaps his identity lurking in the corners of the frieze: another monster, the Indian *makara*.

It is generally held today that the *makara* image in Indian art is an indigenous creation. Its role as fish monster was not unlike that of the Greek *ketos*, and in literature its appearance goes back beyond the possibility of contamination from Greece. This has been used as an argument for its independence.⁶⁸ It is not, of course, a very good argument, since an image is readily taken over without its native significance, and may be applied to a quite different subject which had been hitherto denied any image. The situation is commonplace in the orientizing arts of Greece.

On this relief the *makara* has four stumpy legs (which are uncommon), but the ear, furrowed muzzle and turned up nose are decidedly familiar. Studies on the *makara* decide that its first form is roughly fishlike but that it owes much to the crocodile. Neither fish nor crocodile have visible ears nor is it easy to understand why it should so easily lose two legs and get a fishy tail, as it does in India. Later in the art of Mathura it takes on various forms, including the elephantine⁶⁹, but there are many examples which so strongly recall the *ketos*, which we have seen already accepted in the neighbouring art of Gandara, that I find it easy to believe that if not the inception then at least the development of its image in Indian art owed much to the Classical beast. There are many other borrowings of Classical motifs in the art of Gandara and Mathura. This should be added to them.

The use of the head alone is particularly interesting, engulfing or threatening heroes or beasts. It vividly recalls Hesione's and Andromeda's monster, and more as we shall see. At Begram, the monsters are seen eating the legs of a demon. The monsters ought to be round the other way, of course, growing out of the demon's legs; and so they do on a relief at Mathura, which brings us back to our Classical *Skylla* with *ketos* legs.⁷⁰ Finally, the *makara* travels on into the Buddhist art of China⁷¹, where it may meet a very different monster, though similar in details, the Chinese dragon, a creature of the air and fire, not of the waters. This is as far east as we dare chase the kin of the Classical *ketos*, and we return west rather suddenly with the image of the gaping *makara* jaws still in mind.

We come back to Europe via Byzantium where in the 10th–11th century scheme for the Last Judgement it is our *ketos* that is borrowed to represent the creatures of the sea giving up their dead⁷², and on into the art of Romanesque western Europe. The jaws of hell are fishy jaws. The jaws that swallowed Jonah, threatened Herakles, threatened the Indian

67 New Delhi Nat. Mus. J.555; C. Sivaramamurti, *The Art of India* (New York, 1977) 373; *In the Image of Man* (London, Art Councils, 1982) no. 313. I have further explored the *ketos* in the east in *BCH Suppl. XIV* (1986) 447–53. I am indebted to Dr James Harle for advice in this area.

68 Studies on the *makara* abound: J.P. Vogel, *Revue des arts asiatiques* 6 (1929–30) 133–47; A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Yaksas II* (Washington, 1931) 47–56; G. Combaz, *L'Inde et l'Orient classique* (Paris, 1937) 146–55; O. Viennot, *Arts asiatiques* 1 (1954) 189–208; J.M. Rosenfeld, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Berkeley/Los An-

geles, 1967) 179–83; B.D. Robins and R.F. Busabarger, *Archaeology* 1970, 38–43; S. Darian, *Artibus Asiae* 38 (1976) 28–34.

69 Vogel, *op. cit.* (last n.); Viennot, *op. cit.* (last n.).

70 J. Hackin et al., *Nouvelles recherches à Begram* (Paris, 1954) figs. 521–2 (Begram), 523 (Mathura).

71 J.H. Lindsay, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1951, 134–8.

72 E.g. K. Weitzmann, *The Icon* (London, 1978) pl. 23; G. and M. Soteriou, *Eikones tes mones Sina II* (Athens, 1956) no. 151.

heroes and pilgrims, also received the souls of the damned at the Last Judgement. The imagination of European artists fashioned them in many ways, but if we catch them near the start of their career in Europe, as on the west portal of Sainte-Foy de Conques (Plate XXVI, fig. 19)⁷³, can we doubt that it is again, however translated, our Classical ketos, called upon to perform the most triumphant of the roles in his long career?

It is, perhaps, not so much the form of our ketos that changes, chimerically, like the clouds, but its personality, its identity and function. Over more than two millennia, from the English Channel to beyond the Hindu Kush, this monster, a creation of the artist's imagination, has answered the iconographic needs of other artists called upon to express visually some otherworldly denizen of the deep, to act in myth, or to threaten gods, heroes, men, or, at the last trump, a selection of all mankind.

⁷³ A Gardner, *Medieval Sculpture in France* (1931) 76, fig. 59; M. Aubert, *La Sculpture Française au Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1946) 119.

Easy Monsters

Peter H. von Blanckenhagen

Monsters, mortal as well as immortal ones, may be divided into individual, unique, solitary creatures and tribes in which the individual is but a member of its group. The first are those which, if mortal, are eventually killed by heroes. They exist, as it were, in order to offer potential heroes the occasion to prove their heroic mettle. Thus Perseus, for example, kills Medusa, the one of the Gorgons who is mortal; and before he delivers her head to Athena as her emblem, he uses his new weapon to kill another monster, a dragon which threatens Princess Andromeda chained to the rocks. The representations of the killing of Medusa belong among the oldest depictions of Greek legends,¹ while the Andromeda tale is more popular in later times, in Roman art as well as in Renaissance and Baroque. Early and archaic art tells the event with the powerful exactitude of the essentials: the horrible Gorgon, the flight of the hero, often the actual killing. The liberation of Andromeda, or of Hesione,² a parallel tale, are rarer subjects in Archaic art, yet if chosen the representation emphasizes the essentials. But when an Augustan painter³ decorates a wall in an imperial villa with the same legend, a fairy tale setting of water, rocks and sky is his real subject (Plate XXVII, fig. 1). In this setting, tiny elegant Andromeda stands quietly in the middle of the picture, the ketos displays, peacock-like, his plumage and beak and claws. The small Perseus flies like a bird through the air to rescue the Princess and in the upper right hand corner we are informed about the happy ending: Perseus is received by the Princess' father, the king, and by his retinue in the palace to be awarded his prize, Andromeda herself. Every detail is realistically and beautifully represented, but the entire composition is as unrealistic as possible, a fairy tale in which nothing can possibly be serious, not the hero, not the victim, not the monster. There are quite a number of similar representations of the Liberation of Andromeda on Pompeian walls; one imitates the Augustan painting some fifty years later (Plate XXVII, fig. 2).⁴ It changes proportions and colors and thereby produces what looks like a poster of an opera in which one sees what one may expect on the stage in different acts. In the story of Andromeda the monster plays but a secondary role, and that is the reason why Hel-

1 Including the amphora by the Nettos Painter, Athens N.M., and sculptures such as the pediment in Corfu and a metope in Selinus.

2 F. Brommer, *Die Königstochter und das Ungeheuer*, MarbWinckPr 1955.

3 M.M.A. 20.192.16. In the Villa of Agrippa Posthumus, shortly after 11 B.C., P.H. v. Blancken-

hagen—C. Alexander, *The Paintings from Boscorecase*, RM Suppl. 6 (1962), pls. 44–46.

4 Pompeii I. 7. 7. Blanckenhagen—Alexander, *op. cit.* 49 f., pl. 55, 2; in color: Th. Krauss, *Pompeji und Herculaneum*, fig. 250.

lenistic or Roman artists seem to have been so fond of just this legend. Ordinarily, a hero kills the monster not for different ultimate reasons but because it's there, only to be killed by him. And these of course remain what they have been through all centuries of antiquity. Representations of heroes and monsters in later times seem to prefer to depict the heroes after the action, thus Perseus helping Andromeda to step down from her rock (Plate XXVIII, figs. 3, 4).⁵ With courtly gesture, the hero takes the arm of the Princess who is as elegantly dressed and as prettily coiffured as any lady receiving guests, without the slightest sign of her ordeal. And Perseus is equally well groomed and does not exhibit a trace of the fight with the monster which lies quietly and dead under Andromeda's feet. In similar manner Theseus stands proudly next to the dead Minotaur receiving the thanks of the Athenian children.⁶ The Pompeian frescoes reflect fourth century paintings, how faithfully we do not know. Between the later classical original and the Roman adaptations there may have been classicistic versions of late Hellenistic times.

Not all monsters are mortal, hence not all are connected with one individual hero, but most of them appear preeminently in the context of one story, for instance the Furies with Orestes, the Sirens with Odysseus, and also with Odysseus, Scylla. Ever since the sculptures in Tiberius' grotto in Sperlonga were found, the representations of Scylla have become the subject of new inquiries.⁷ The marvelous group in Sperlonga is still not yet fully examined and restored. It was the most baroque monumental group ever designed and would have been the envy of Bernini. It is in the Pergamene tradition, just as the Laocoon group by the same masters is; and both are adaptations, probably elaborate and complex ones, of Hellenistic Baroque works, as is, for instance, an Etruscan urn in Turin (Plate XXVIII, fig. 5), close to Pergamene art and its last truly ferocious threatening monsters, the giants. Not so in Sperlonga. In spite of its dramatic force, the mere setting of the Scylla group, the center of the basin in a grotto to be admired from a pavilion, like the other groups, changes Scylla and Odysseus' ship into a piece of decoration just like the paintings of Andromeda on walls of private rooms. Indeed there are Scyllas that are unashamedly decorative, such as the fountain in Oxford or a table in Naples.⁸ Decorative monsters, however, are no longer very serious. How threatening are later Etruscan sirens? Many urns show them together with Odysseus' ship sailing past (Plate XXIX, fig. 6).⁹

These few examples may illustrate what is happening to monsters in later times, but they are not my main concern here. They are but the background against which other alterations take place, alterations that actually change the images of monsters into something different and new. Among them the image of the centaur is perhaps the most interesting one. By the end of the archaic period, representations of monsters become increasingly rarer, with one

5 Pompeii, I. 3. 25 (fig. 3) As was the painting by Nikias, mentioned by Pliny, *N.H.* 35, 132; for the composition see H. Lauter-Bufe, *Zur Stilgeschichte der pompejanischen Fresken*, 4 ff., 20 ff.

6 "Villa Imperiale," Pompeii, *Washington Nat. Gal. Studies in the History of Art* 10 (*Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Hellenistic Times*) 252 f., fig. 4. Cf. also Naples from Herculaneum, N.M. 9049, *H.Br.* 81, Naples from Pompeii VII. 2. 16, N.M. 9043, *H.Br.* 143.

7 S. Conticello and B. Andrae, *Antike Plastik* 14, fig. 12, pls. 81-87; cf. *AJA* 80, 1976, 99-104.

8 Fragment in Oxford: G. Sâflund, *The Polyphemus and Scylla Group at Sperlonga*, fig. 63; table support: Spinazzola, *Le Arte Figurative*, pl. 34.

9 C. Laviosa, *Scultura Tardo-Etrusca di Volterra*, Nos. 24, 27; G.M.A. Hanfmann, *JHS* 1945, 45 ff.; generally on Volterranean urns: F.H. Pairault, *Recherches sur quelques séries d'urnes de Volterra* (*Coll. Ec. Fr. Rome* XII) 1972.

exception. Centaurs appear more frequently in sculpture and painting of the fifth century than before. This fact calls for an explanation.

Centaurs are a tribe of mortal beasts or rather man-beasts, neither horse nor man, neither spirited but tamed (like horses), nor vital but civilized (like men). Thus they misbehave, particularly when they are drunken guests at civilized festivities.¹⁰ Irresponsible rather than truly evil, they must be fought lest they harm women and boys. It is the great invention of Phidias and his companions to change the earlier ferocious image into another, much subtler one. The faces of centaurs on the metopes of the Parthenon range from the wild grotesque masks of the past to almost beautiful and regular features.¹¹ Some remind us, but probably not the Greeks, of portraits, and their features recall Michelangelesque profiles. Truly noble features seem to occur only in victorious centaurs, never on defeated ones. They may even show a trace of pity which never mars the symmetry of the faces of classical human fighters. One of the heads seems to be totally human¹² and thus brings to mind the one individual centaur that is different, Chiron, the teacher and the educator of heroes. We ought to try to understand what that may mean: the centaur's ubiquity in fifth century art, the centaur's altered images on the Parthenon. Strangely enough a centaur's appearance does not look grotesque and impossible. The combination of the body of a horse with torso and head of a man results in something visually unified and acceptable, as if nature may indeed create such monsters. This is perhaps due to the formal similarity between a horse's strong neck and the human torso. There emerges the convincing image of a powerful being transcending the power of horse and man separately, and thus it represents, as it were, what is beastly in man's nature. But what is beastly in man is not only wildness, fury, sensuality; it is also being part of nature itself, i.e. familiarity with all her powers, her secrets, her gifts. That is why a centaur can be and is the tutor of future heroes. Chiron instructs Achilles in attack and defense as well as in the knowledge of healing herbs and other secrets. In short, Chiron teaches natural wisdom which is close to animal instinct, the opposite of human intelligence. It is, however, mind and not instinct that produces civilization, the community of citizens. Faces of Athenians on the Parthenon frieze are not faces of individuals, they are typical and beautiful, symmetrical and regular. But some centaurs are individualized like the horses on the frieze, and they are noble and humane. One is led to think that humaneness and personal, not generic, nobility belongs to that aspect of man which has more in common with beasts, especially with horses, than with gods.

Not long after the Parthenon centaurs a great painter produced a famous picture, the novelty of which is unsurpassed in all Greek art. It represented a family of centaurs, consisting of father centaur, mother centauress and baby centaurs. Up to this time, centaurs were entirely male and one is forced to conclude that the tribe was prevented from extinction through the rape of women. Clearly this is what makes them the natural enemies of man. But if you concede nobility to centaurs, such behavior would be intolerable, and so the centauress is born and gives birth to centaur children. Zeuxis' painting was so novel and so astonishing that Lucian, to whom we owe its description, tells us about it as an example of that fame which is not based on inherent quality but on novelty of subject.¹³

10 As in the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus in Olympia, B. Ashmole and N. Yalouris, *Olympia*, esp. figs. 15–17, pls. 74–111. For types of centaurs up to the fourth century B.C., see B. Schiffler, *Die Typologie der Kentauren*, 1976.

11 F. Brommer, *Die Metopen des Parthenon*, Nos. 1 (pls. 155–161) and 30 (pls. 229–232).

12 F. Brommer, *op. cit.*, No. 4 (pls. 176–177).

13 Lucian, *Zeuxis or Antiochos*, 3.

Luckily a rather recent find, a work of about one hundred years later, shows its influence. On a floor mosaic in Pella we see a centaur and a centaress facing each other (Plate XXIX, figs. 7, 8).¹⁴ They are obviously dependent on Zeuxis' "Centaur Family" even though the mosaic is but an allusion, not a copy of a classical work, as are the painted metopes on the facade of the third century tomb in Leukadia.¹⁵ These imitate the sculpted metopes of the Parthenon, but the state of preservation does not permit us to decide whether or not they, too, depict centaurs with noble faces. More than one hundred years later a frieze of modest quality is an important witness of the development of the centauric image. It adorns the Temple of Dionysos at Teos near Izmir in Turkey.¹⁶ Dionysos' proper companions, satyrs and maenads, are now joined by centaurs, many carrying satyrs on their backs; some have amphorae and drinking horns in their hands. They all have become happy, easy members of the god's thiasos, and their prancing gait may be due to intoxication, but they have lost all violence and danger. They have joined a realm in which for all future time they will be natural and welcome. Drinking will no longer make centaurs threatening, but just as playfully happy as are the satyrs. These too are, strictly speaking, monsters, but we shall not look at them. Their images over the centuries of ancient art are characteristic and interesting but they would require a lecture by itself. Perhaps at the time of the frieze in Teos there was created a pair of centaurs in large sculpture often copied in Roman times. The most famous of these copies are in the Capitoline, made for Hadrian's villa by two artists from Aphrodisias (Plate XXX, figs. 9, 10).¹⁷ Originally both were ridden by an Eros, small like a jockey and preserved in the piece in the Louvre.¹⁸ One centaur is young and beardless, an extraordinary novelty. His happy face shows that his Eros has blessed him, while his older, bearded companion experiences the tortures Eros is quick to inflict on old age, and the centaur's hands are bound behind his back.¹⁹ His face, noble and dignified, is a masterful new interpretation of an old pattern, while the lucky young centaur has a coarse face. The

14 *Deltion* 16, 1960, pl. 47a; another roughly contemporary example of a pair of centaur and centaress on a Gnathia krater in the British Museum, F. Matz, *Fest. C. Weickert*, 45, fig. 3. See also F. Matz, *Die Dionysischen Sarkophage* I 73, I 77, Nos. 26, 27, 28, 33, for examples later than the above mentioned pieces but earlier than the sarcophagi.

15 Petsas, *Ho Taphos ton Leukadion*, pl. 6.

16 Hahland, *Oest. Jb.* 38, 1950, 66ff. The centaurs of the frieze in Teos are not the earliest examples of bacchic centaurs: Matz, *Sarc.* I 76ff. lists them, the earliest "easy," not wild, centaurs belonging to South Italian art, vases and terracottas, followed by Bithynian coins of the second quarter of the second century B.C. Cf. A. Rumpf, *Meerwesen* (see note 25) 109, who calls the bacchic centaurs "the last complete conquest that the thiasos made." See further: W. Klein, *Vom antiken Rococo*, chapter 2.

17 Helbig, *Führer*, 4th edition, No. 1398. After the present paper went to press there were pub-

lished: Jon Van de Grift, "Tears and Revel; The Allegory of the Berthouville Centaur Scyphi," *AJA* 88, 1984, 377-388; and Edith Lemberg-Ruppelt, "Der Berliner Cameo des Dioskurides," *RömMitt* 91, 1984, 87-113 (plate 48, 3) with a good publication of the cameo in Leningrad representing Dionysos on a chariot driven by centaur and centaress.

18 Louvre: M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, fig. 641. Cf. also the table support with Scylla (note 8), which shows on the other side a centaur ridden by an Eros. According to F. Matz, *Fest. Weickert*, 55, the bound hands refer back, playfully, to centaurs bound by Herakles.

19 Replicas of both centaurs and their heads: M. Squarciapino, *La Scuola di Afrodizia*, 1943, 32ff. Similar combinations of old and young centaurs on sarcophagi: F. Matz, *Sarc.* I No. 62, pl. 71, 72. Cf. also the silver cup from Pompeii in Naples, Künzl, *Jhrb. Röm. Germ. Mus. Mainz*, 1975, pl. 22.

entire concept is rather a light, cruelly witty rococo epigram; one may say in the spirit of Pope. Comparable are exquisite little paintings from Campanian walls (Plate XXXI, figs. 11, 12). One of them is a variation of the sculpture of the old centaur; here Eros has become a maenad and her joy and competence in torturing is expressed in every part of her body. Other centaurs are happier with maenads, one satyr embraces a centauress holding a lyre; all are prancing in Bacchic abandon, vignettes on dark walls mostly of the time of the early empire.²⁰ Such decorative use of the subject is not restricted to painting. On the tomb altar of a freedman of the Empress Livia, Eros rides an old centaur, playing a kithara, Psyche rides a centauress, playing a double aulos, Eros and Psyche joined, respectively, with kithara and aulos and with male and female centaurs point to a symbolism more complex than is usual in decorative Roman art (Plate XXXI, fig. 13). Recently found and poorly published, small centaurs were among the sculptures in the grand villa in S. Annunziata, the ancient Oplontis. They are, so to speak, only half life size, purely ornamental, it seems, mere decorations of gardens or rooms. But at about the same time there was painted in the basilica of Herculaneum a moving and very serious representation of Chiron instructing young Achilles in the playing of the lyre.²¹ It reflected a statuary group which stood in the Saepta Julia in Rome, a very famous one of which the painting from Herculaneum is but one of very many reflections in painting, mosaic and relief, in large and small size. Mild and wise, Chiron, the grand old noble centaur, has nothing in common with his Dionysiac brothers. His appearance is serious, kind, and dignified, and this expression is stressed by the fact that the group in Rome stood next to another teacher-pupil group which was its perfect contrast. In it the teacher is also a monster, but of a different character, as we shall see shortly.

Not long thereafter sarcophagi begin to replace urns. On uncounted pieces centaurs appear. To be sure, centauromachies in the archaic and classic pattern exist among them, but they are a small minority compared with Bacchic sarcophagi with centaurs.²² Only one may serve as a typical example (Plate XXXII, figs. 14, 15). It represents the discovery of Ariadne.²³ From our oldest representations on Attic and Apulian vases of around 400 onward, in eastern and western renditions, in paintings, reliefs and pedimental sculptures, Dionysos roams through Naxos accompanied by his proper retinue, silens and satyrs, and thus finds abandoned, sleeping Ariadne. Many sarcophagi give this old pattern a new twist. Dionysos has arrived in a chariot drawn by centaurs, and these are mostly a couple of a male and a female one. And in the arms of the latter is a centaur child. It is the family accent that makes these sarcophagi different from earlier centaurs and centaresses. Zeuxis' famous painting had long been lost in a shipwreck, but at least one copy existed which Lucian described, and now six hundred or more years later its subject matter was revived and be-

20 From the "Villa of Cicero," *H Br.* pl. 93, Naples N M. 9133. These paintings include also centaresses; many similar representations on various parts of walls of the 3rd and 4th style: Matz, *Sarc.* I 76, Nos. 13 ff.; Schwinzer, *Schwebende Gruppen in der pompejanischen Wandmalerei*, 1979, esp. 98.

21 H. Sichtermann, *RömMitt* 64, 1957, 98–110.

22 F. Matz, *Sarc.* lists, I 72, the representations of chariots drawn by centaurs and, I 78,

other bacchic centaurs on sarcophagi.

23 F. Matz, *Sarc.* III Nos. 218 (pls. 232, 236, 237), 222 (pls. 234, 237). Centaur-chariots as parts of the thiasos: Nos. 105–129; families of centaurs with satyrs and maenads: Nos. 177 and IV 341; centaurs in the representations of the discovery of Ariadne: Nos. 217–226. For the variety of versions and representations of this myth see E. Richardson, *Studies in Ancient Art and Archaeology*, (1977) 189–195.

came a part of a composition designed for sarcophagi. Its integration in the Ariadne story is perhaps the most astonishing reinterpretation of the centaur and extreme change of his original nature from the image of wild beastliness to the image of marital bliss in the service of a god! I know of no other equally large range in the interpretation of monsters.

Comparable changes, however, do exist. Centaurs populate the earth, but in the sea there are similar ones, maritime monsters. We have already seen one, the ketos threatening Andromeda. There are many more, dangerous and horrible, closely connected with death, as Emily Vermeule has recently shown in the last chapter of her beautiful and challenging book.²⁴ But at the end these monsters have much in common with centaurs, as many sarcophagi show (Plate XXXIII, fig. 16).²⁵ Visually their shapes often differ from centaurs only with respect to the hind parts, which are fish tails. It seems to me that all these various sea monsters, these tritons and hippocamps and the like, had an easier time to shed their threatening nature and to adopt friendlier characters. Even in early times they may be helpful creatures, such as the one that in an Attic tondo supports the young Theseus when he visits Poseidon's realm introduced by Athena.²⁶ And about one hundred years later we find a male and a female triton greeting each other on a Campanian hydria.²⁷ The most famous representation of a marine thiasos was the monumental group by Skopas described by Pliny who saw it in Rome.²⁸ It contained Poseidon, Thetis, Achilles, with nereids on dolphins and a great number of sea monsters of all sorts and shapes. From the fourth century onwards sea monsters abound, and seem to be seen altogether as monsters not naturally inimical to man. In large sculptures we have a Roman copy of an Hellenistic group of a young triton carrying in his arms a nereid accompanied by amoretti riding the waves.²⁹ Such groups are comparable with the centaur vignettes, both have a distinct kinship with Dionysiac motifs. That probably prompted a Roman sculptor to create a pendant; instead of a nereid the triton holds Papposilenos in his arms.³⁰ The best known and most varied representation of sea monsters is the frieze of the so-called Ara of Domitius.³¹ In every respect this is a misnomer; the three friezes in Munich were used to form three sides of a monument, the fourth one being the Roman frieze of the census, now in the Louvre. Originally the marine frieze belonged to something else according to new investigations by Dr Wünsche at the Glyptothek in Munich. Poseidon's and Amphitrite's wedding procession is the subject. The divine couple in a chariot drawn by tritons is accompanied by various creatures, sea horses on which nereids with

24 E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*, Berkeley, 1979, Chapter VI.

25 A. Rumpf, *Die Meerwesen auf den antiken Sarkophagreliefs* (C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* V) 108 f., esp. Nos. 27, 38, 40, 66, 72. The list supplemented by H. Sichtermann, *AA* 1970, 214 ff.

26 Louvre G 108, Beazley, *ARV*² 318, 1: FR pl. 5 (Onesimos).

27 *Vases from Magna Graecia, Cat. Exhib. Richmond 1982*, ed. M.E. Mayo and K. Hamma, 210, No. 92.

28 Pliny, *N.H.* 36, 26; cf. S. Lattimore, *The Marine Thiasos in Greek Sculpture*, 13–16; A. Stewart, *Skopas of Paros*, 99–101.

29 Helbig, *op. cit.*, No. 100; B. Kapossy, *Brunnenfiguren der hellenistischen und römischen Zeit*, 29. For the history of the sea thiasos see Lattimore, *op. cit.*, and Rumpf, *op. cit.*, 117–121.

30 M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 150, fig. 641. S. Lattimore, *op. cit.*, 71, note 81.

31 H. Kähler, *Seethiasos und Census*, pl. 1–3, 6, 7. Comparable are, for instance, a beautiful marble basin in Rome (Helbig, *op. cit.*, 2247, Lattimore, *op. cit.*, pl. 5) and a less fine fragment in Basel (Lattimore, *op. cit.*, pl. 4) and, as an example in small size, the exquisite earlier Tarentine pyxis (E. Langlotz, *Die Kunst der Westgriechen*, color plate XX).

the wedding torch ride, tritons and dragons with nereids, all enlivened by amoretti. The mood is very close to a Bacchic thiasos, but more refined. With the most elegant ease nereids and erotes let themselves be carried by joyful monsters as if such way of riding over waves is the most comfortable form of transport, and the wheels of the wedding chariot seem appropriate for such a sea voyage. Again we have parallels on Pompeian walls, vignettes on dark background, now purely decorative, playful games of fantastic creatures, symbols of simple happiness like children splashing in quiet waters (Plate XXXIII, fig. 17).³² Tritons may even join swimmers as on a mosaic in Ostia.³³ It is a decoratively distorted illustrated map of the port, its towers, its roads and its shore.

On later sarcophagi we find different combinations of sea monsters and men. Tritons still carrying nereids hold a central shell with the portrait of the deceased such as on one type of marine sarcophagi.³⁴ Others represent the sea thiasos in various patterns, variations of the theme, some more original such as the one with Poseidon in a quadriga seen from the front.³⁵ To judge from the number of preserved examples they must have been almost as popular as Bacchic sarcophagi. Do they indicate a general hope for a happier life thereafter? Or are they simply pleasing joyful scenes, the most obvious models of which would have been the two thiasoi signifying no more than the wish to counterbalance death with mythical symbols of *joie de vivre*. Epigrams for tombs collected in the *Anthologia Palatina* do not frequently refer to the blessings of afterlife.³⁶ To do justice to centaurs and sea monsters would require an investigation the size of a big tome for each. The same would be true for satyrs and silens, to mention another tribe of monsters. I shall leave them aside here and rather look at one with a certain affinity to them at least as regards his conduct and his appearance.

Pan, the Arcadian god raised to a high place thanks to his role at the battle of Marathon, became rather ubiquitous at the time when centaurs acquire centauresses and sea monsters become sweet and serene.³⁷ On South Italian vases he appears where his presence is not required, for example when Bellerophon on monstrous Pegasos kills monstrous Chimaera or at the union of Dionysos and Ariadne in a cave when he helps satyrs harvesting grapes.³⁸ But here he is in Bacchic Land where he will be at home for ever after. There must have been a famous painting of the fourth century representing a wrestling match of Eros and Pan in the presence of Dionysos and Ariadne supervised by Silenos. A well known painting in the Casa dei Vettii and many other variations testify to the popularity of that picture,

32 Naples, M.N. 8870, 9641 (O. Elia, Cat. p. 55); other examples: dado in the House of Meleager (K. Schefold, *Vergessenes Pompeji*, fig. 96, 2); ceiling in Oplontis (*Neue Forschungen in Pompeji*, fig. 33); fragment from Stabiae, Naples M.N. 8856 (*Neue Forsch.*, 122, fig. 96, 97). For relations to centaurs see Schefold, *op. cit.*, 109.

33 Th. Krause, *Das Römische Weltreich*, fig. 343A.

34 Rumpf, *op. cit.*, 23, Nos. 67–90. There are similar bacchic Clipeus-sarcophagi, for example Matz, *Sarc.* IV, 452–469, esp. Nos. 268, 269, 271.

35 Rumpf, *op. cit.*, 45, No. 116, pl. 40.

36 For the discussion of the interpretation see A.D. Nock, *AJA* 50, 1946, 140 ff., and, more recently H. Brandenburg, *Jdl* 82, 1967, 202 ff., F. Matz, *AA* 1971, 104 ff., Lattimore, *op. cit.*, 13 f., and esp. H. Sichtermann, *Jdl* 85, 1970, 224 ff.

37 Generally: R. Herbig, *Pan* (with literature up to 1948); for the integration of Pan with the Dionysiac Thiasos see Matz, *Sarc.* I 61–65 and Rumpf, *op. cit.* 109.

38 *Vases from Magna Graecia*, *op. cit.*, 106, No. 32; 63 No. 6; cf. K. Schauenburg, *RömMitt* 69, 1962, 27 ff.

among them a large floor mosaic in Ostia in the center of which the scene is depicted.³⁹ That wrestling match also appears in different contexts without spectators, with Silenos alone or in an early Pompeian painting with Aphrodite. The motive occurs again and again over the centuries, for instance on sarcophagi and on mosaics in Zaragosa and in Piazza Armerina.⁴⁰ There seems to be no sufficient reason to assign the invention to Hellenistic art. Playful naughty little Pan occurs in fourth century works often. It seems that his wrestling with Eros means Desire wrestling with Love or the opposition of the animal and the divine natures of man. The humorous point is that in this wrestling match Pan always seems to be favored. Such is human life, the artist seemed to say, Platonic doctrine notwithstanding. But Plato, to add a footnote, has his own sublime form of humor: Phaedrus is being instructed about the right love, not in town but in open nature where Pan rules, and the dialogue ends with Socrates' prayer to Pan.

From now on, the representations of Pan increase in number and in motive. His old alliance with the nymphs fades, and his naughtiness increases. No longer does he create terror as he once did at Marathon, and often he appears small in size, but as a muscular and generously endowed male creature. His affinity with Dionysos is an old one. At his birth all gods are delighted but none more than Dionysos, as the nineteenth Homeric Hymn says, adding, "he was called Pan because he warms the hearts of all." Hellenistic artists represent him abundantly. A terracotta group from Priene shows him teaching Eros to play the syrinx.⁴¹ Pan is a musician. He is a master of the simple syrinx, less of Bacchic auloi, not at all of the Apollonian lyre. But his instruction is less strictly professional than equivocally personal. A group such as the one in Naples representing Pan and Daphnis was once a pendant to the group of Chiron and Achilles mentioned above (Plate XXXIV, figs. 18, 19). According to Pliny the two groups stood in the *Saepta Julia* together. While the many renditions of the Chiron group are all in painting or relief, the Pan group has been preserved in more than twenty replicas testifying to its popularity.⁴² Pan's desire to teach young Daphnis is not quite focused on the playing of the rural syrinx. It is contrasted with Chiron's noble love for his hero pupil and his wish to make him familiar with the noble lyre. It seems worth some thoughts that a centaur, a man-beast, is a noble teacher, while Pan, a god-beast, is not and does not pretend to be one.

Pan's sexual encounters with women abound in Hellenistic art. A pasticcio combining a well-known type of seated girl with importuning Pan may serve as an example for many such decorative, so-called rococo groups.⁴³ A Pompeian painting, probably one of the few

39 House of the Vettii: *H.Br.* pl. 44; mosaic in Ostia: G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia IV*, pl. 80 and Kraus, *op. cit.*, fig. 343B. Cf. also Naples M.N. 9262 from Herculaneum (O. Elia, *op. cit.* No. 201). On sarcophagi: Matz, *Sarc.* I No. 36, II Nos. 75, 76.

40 For all these variations see B. Neutsch, *Jdl* 70, 1956. We may note that the version with Silenos alone in the House of Meleager belongs to a decoration where nereids riding sea monsters and centaurs on entablatures occur together with bacchic motives (see note 32, Schefold, *Wände Pompejis* 112).

41 *Antike Kunst* 18, 1975, 87, pl. 32, 4.

42 Bieber, *op. cit.*, 147, fig. 628. Pliny, *N.H.* 36, 29, calls it mistakenly Pan and Olympus, who never was the pupil of Pan but of Marsyas. Such a group has recently been identified on a South Italian vase, its relations to the Pan-Daphnis group being convincingly examined, in an important paper by A. Herrmann in *Antike Kunst* (see preceding note).

43 G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Cat. Vatican Magazzino*, pl. 36, No. 180; cf. W. Klein, *Vom antiken Rococo*, 60 f.

originals, adds wit and humor (Plate XXXV, fig. 20):⁴⁴ Pan finding what he believes is a sleeping maenad — an old motive of encounters of satyrs and maenads — is horrified to detect his mistake. He has found an Hermaphrodite who on her part, far from frightened, attempts to hold and persuade him to try out the pleasures she could offer. A famous group from Delos⁴⁵ shows Pan's more timid approach to Aphrodite who has raised her slipper against that ugly wooer, and little Eros grasps his horns to push his face away. With his brothers, the satyrs, Pan can be nice and helpful as in the many groups in which he pulls a thorn.⁴⁶ In a group from Pompeii the roles are reversed, a satyr does this service to Pan. And thus he enters the Bacchic procession, the Dionysiac thiasos, or rather reenters it. As early as on a fragment of an Attic black-figured krater in Amsterdam, Pan plays the aulos on a festive drinking party of Dionysos, served by silens.⁴⁷ On Bacchic sarcophagi he is a participant even more frequent than the centaurs. It is often he, for example, who uncovers sleeping Ariadne to show her to the god (Plate XXXVI, fig. 22).⁴⁸ On Pompeian walls he occurs in this role also; but more frequently it is Eros who exposes Ariadne as he does on other sarcophagi. Eros' presence gives that scene its high wondrous air; his substitution by Pan lowers it to a sexual encounter. But all the same the pair of centaurs with their children, already discussed, adds here an element of marital propriety. In the representations of the thiasos, Pan is a natural member with satyrs, silens, maenads, dancing and prancing in even greater abandon than these. He appears on all types of Dionysiac sarcophagi. He can be old and can be young, a *Paniscus*. At times he may be a charioteer of the gods' chariot or of a carriage for old fat Silenos and ubiquitous as he is, often he appears more than once,⁴⁹ or he seems to lead the chariots of centaurs in a procession that includes elephants in the Indian Triumph.⁵⁰ On a sarcophagus in Munich he clearly has overdone his joyful pranks, as if he were a naughty little boy he is hoisted on the shoulders of a young satyr and receives corporal punishment from the hands of another (Plate XXXVI, fig. 21).⁵¹ But even this often repeated genre scene is not an entirely new motive. In Arcadia, Pan's homeland, there did exist the ritual chastisement of Pan if he had not granted success in the hunt, and a festive ritual included such chastisement. I take this from a book on Pan, *Recherches sur le dieu Pan* by Philippe Borgeaud (107–114). It is one of the more recent among a veritable library in which Herbig's book on Pan is perhaps the most rewarding in showing the enormously wide range of concepts and representations of this strange god. We have touched here only on very few of these and leave him, like the centaurs, in the realm of the thiasos,

44 Naples M.N. 9264 from Pompeii VI, 9, 2: Elia, *op. cit.*, No. 204, *H. Br.* pl. 124; in color: *Cat. Boston Pompeii Exhibition*, fig. 143. For Pan and Hermaphrodite in sculpture in seven replicas: Klein, *op. cit.*, 48, 179 note 56.

45 Athens N.M. 3335: Marcadé, *Au Musée de Délos*, pl. 50. Bieber, *op. cit.*, 147, fig. 629, 630.

46 Bieber, *op. cit.*, 148, fig. 633–635; cf. Klein, *op. cit.*, 64 f.

47 Allard Pierson Museum 2117–8; F. Brommer, *Satyroi*, fig. 3–4.

48 Matz, *Sarc.* III, 389, No. 218, pls. 232, 236, 237, also I Nos. 45, 47, III Nos. 212, 214, 216.

49 Matz, *Sarc.* II, Nos. 88, 152, 153 (examples of the chariot of Dionysos, in 152 and 153 Pan appears twice, leading and accompanying the chariot), Nos. 106, 107 (with two Pans), 108 (carriage of Silenos).

50 For instance: Matz, *Sarc.* I, No. 58A, II No. 129, the sarcophagus in Cambridge, which also contains, as the decoration of the chariot, a representation in low relief of the wrestling match of Pan and Eros.

51 Matz, *Sarc.* II No. 85, cf. a fragment III Beilage 103; Vermaseren, *Latomus* 18, 1959, 742–753, pl. 42–44; A. von Salis, *Antike und Renaissance* 112–124.

so close to the sea thiasos on marine sarcophagi. All these happy easy creatures on sea and earth will disappear soon, will vanish with the gods in whom nobody believes any longer. But some of our monsters do have an afterlife. The centaur with bow and arrow enters the starry sky as the sign Sagittarius in eastern and western astronomical representations where the centaurs join so many Greek gods, heroes and heroines, making the Middle Ages a link between Antiquity and Renaissance. And Pan of course lends his shape to Satan, to the devil.

Before, the monsters had become playful, easy, and decorative, ornaments in houses and gardens, tame and kind. Nature itself had become tame and civilized, in vast gardens similar to the English gardens in the eighteenth century. In either case, nature offered escape from the vicissitudes of real life. In carefree innocence, bliss could be achieved in rural idylls such as Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* where Pan also has his place. The beautiful story is a contemporary of our sarcophagi, of bacchic and marine abandon. We shall not discuss them as possible examples of 'Symbolisme funéraire.' And do these tritons carry man's soul to the Island of the Blessed? Perhaps, but today we shall be satisfied with what we observe. We shall take them, as it were at face value. The last days of the ancient monsters, we are glad to see, were happy and easy, and they leave their and our world with a smile and a dance and a swim in friendly waters.

When Gods Become Demons

Dale Bishop

In his concise and helpful compendium of *Teachings of the Magi*, R.C. Zaehner cites the following classical defense of the Zoroastrian doctrine of the necessity of dualism from a ninth century Middle Persian text entitled *Sbkand-Gumanig Wizar*, "The Doubt-Dispelling Interpretation."

"It is obvious that things that are (dissimilar in substance) cannot exist in one place. If all things were one, this One would be nameless, for it is only through the possession of a name that one thing can be distinguished from another. That evil is principally distinct from good can be inferred from the fact that neither is the cause of the other. That each exists in and by its own essence is proved by the eternal antagonism and opposition between the two . . . There never has been nor will there be anything which is neither good nor evil nor a mixture of the two. Thus it is abundantly clear that there are two first principles, not more, and that good cannot arise from evil nor evil from good. From this we must infer that what is perfect and complete in its goodness cannot produce evil. If God is perfect in goodness and knowledge, plainly ignorance and evil cannot proceed from Him; or if it can, then he is not perfect; and if he is not perfect, then he should not be worshipped as God or as perfectly good."¹

These words, although they betray a debt to Greek philosophy, are nevertheless at one with the sentiments expressed in poetical form by the founder of Zoroastrianism, who lived some 1900 years before the composition of the text just cited. Yasna 30, one of Zarathushtra's *Gathas*, is often quoted, one suspects, not only because it is a concise and compelling statement of the Prophet's views on good and evil, but also because it is one of the few sections of the *Gathas* whose translation is relatively secure.

2. *Listen with your ears to the best things;*

Examine with a lucid mind

The two choices for decision which

every man must make for himself

Being ready to declare yourselves

to Him before the final Test. (This I believe to be a final Truth Test in which the eloquence of the righteous person defeats the cacophony of evil.)

1 R.C. Zaehner, *The Teachings of the Magi*, London 1956, pp. 64-65.

3. *There were two primeval spirits
twins renowned to be in conflict:
One good, the other evil in thought,
word and deed.
Between them the wise choose
rightly; not so the ignorant.*
4. *When those two spirits came together
at the beginning, they created
Life and Non-life, so that at the end
the worst existence will be for the
Lie-followers; and the Best Mind
will be for the righteous.*
5. *Of these two spirits, the follower
of the lie chose to do the worst things.
The most Holy Spirit chose Truth,
with which he clothed himself in
the stoney vault of heaven.
Those who would please the Lord Wisdom
do so willingly with true deeds.*
6. *Between the two, the daēvas did not
choose correctly, for deception
Came upon them while they were
deliberating. For they chose the
worst intention;
Then they rushed together in fury
with which they afflict this
mortal existence.²*

The text teems with the contrasts which are so characteristic of Zarathushtra's teachings. In the second verse there is reference to the two choices for decision which each man must make for himself. In fact, in the five stanzas cited, there are no less than seven occurrences of words having to do with choice. Verse 3 refers to the metaphysical basis for the choices human beings must make. The two primeval spirits are respectively good and evil in their thoughts, words, and deeds. The wise and the ignorant, virtually synonymous with the beneficent and the maleficent, will make their choices accordingly. The consequences of choices are laid out in the next verse where it is pointed out that just as in the beginning the two spirits created life and non-life, at the end of time those who have chosen evil will experience the non-life of the "worst experience," i.e., hell, while those who have chosen wisely will be granted the rewards of the best mind, i.e., Paradise. The theme of the importance of the choices of the two spirits and the relationship of those choices to human des-

2 In this and the succeeding quotation from the *Gathas* I am indebted to insights gleaned from

Stanley Insler, *The Gathas of Zarathushtra*, Leiden, 1975.

tiny is repeated in the fifth verse. Finally, in verse 6 the *daēvas* make their choice and because they were deceived, chose to afflict the world with "fury" itself a demon who regularly carries the epithet, "he of the bloody club."

In addition to the dichotomy of good and evil choices, other contrasts are drawn: wisdom and ignorance; life and non-life; the worst existence and the best mind; the lie-following man and the possessor of the truth, the lie-following spirit (Angra Mainyu) and the Holy Spirit. But all these pairs of opposites are to be subsumed under that initial opposition of good and evil or truth and lie. This fundamental "oppositionalism," if we can coin a term preferable to the usual "dualism," is also expressed in the poetic techniques employed by the Prophet. Since Avestan is an inflected language, the poet has great freedom in word order. Throughout the verses cited above, opposites appear side by side, or in hemistichs, or are counterpoised in lines or even verses. And upon the basic ethical oppositionalism there are also superimposed parallel references to those two potent "times," the times of first things, *paourvim* and the end time, *apemem*.

The effect of such poetry upon the hearer must have contributed to Zarathushtra's success as a religious leader. If the basic oppositions are clear to the reader of a translation, one can imagine how much more compelling they must have been to people who could feel the contrasts in the very cadences of the poetry itself. Indeed, it may be that part of what confounds would-be translators of the *Gathas* is what made them so persuasive to their original hearers. It is not idle self-praise which leads Zarathushtra to proclaim in Yasna 29 that his power against the demons stemmed from his having been granted *hudemem vaxēdrabha*, "sweetness of speech" by the Lord Wisdom.

What rivets the attention of this writer, however, is the reference in this passage and elsewhere in the *Gathas* to the *daēvas* as being among those who made the same fateful choice as that made by the Evil Spirit, Angra Mainyu. For it was the *daēvas'* counterparts in India, the *devas*, who rose to preeminence in the Vedic tradition even while the *asuras*, although not yet demonized, were nonetheless clearly of decreasing importance even at the time of the composition of the *Rig Veda*. What was it that motivated Zarathushtra's attack on the *daēvas* to the extent that his followers of later generations could in all fidelity to his teachings refer to the accursed Angra Mainyu as the *daēvanam daēva*, the "daēva of daēvas," the demon par excellence?

This issue is much debated among Iranists and scholars of the Indo-Iranian tradition. For many years it was assumed that Zarathushtra, a Luther-like reformer who cleansed the Indo-Iranian religious tradition of its primitive polytheism, introduced Ahura Mazda as a new and morally lofty monotheistic deity. More careful study of the texts, however, along with increasing knowledge of other Iranian languages, has now led many scholars to conclude that both Ahura Mazda and an aversion to the *daēvas* predated Zarathushtra. After arguing cogently for an Indo-Iranian belief in a divine Ahuric triad of Ashura Medha, Mitra, and Varuna-Apam Napat, Professor Mary Boyce in her authoritative history of Zoroastrianism hypothesizes that there was among the pre-Zoroastrian Iranians "vigorous discussion in matters of ethics and worship, for controversy about the cults of *daēva* and *abura* is not likely to have originated with Zoroaster."³

Professor Paul Thieme's important study of the 14th-century Mitanni treaty, which led him to argue that the Aryans among the Mitanni people must have been Indo-Aryans rather

³ Mary Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. I, Leiden, 1975, p. 192.

than "proto-Aryans," provided a significant basis for Prof. Burrow's suggestion that the Iranian rejection of the *daēvas* reflects a conflict between the Indo-Aryans and their later arriving cousins, the Iranians. Burrow also draws upon Gray's observation that the distinction between the Ahuric and Daēvic vocabularies in the Avesta, especially in the *Vendidad*, reflects a marked similarity between lexical distinctions in Indic and Iranian. Noting that many of the terms reserved for *daēvas* have no currency in Iranian languages, except in specialized religious texts, and that the cognates of these *daēvic* terms in Indic are more frequently the more common terms in Indic, Gray had earlier posited an Indic-Iranian conflict as lying behind the Iranian rejection of the *daēvas*.⁴

The songs of Zarathushtra present no decisive evidence as to the validity of these views. What does seem to be clear is that Zarathushtra's opposition to the *daēva*-worshippers was not a mere rhetorical device — not *daēvayāsna* baiting, so to speak. *Daēvazushtas*, *daēva*-lovers existed, and seem to have been the chief opponents of Zarathushtra's teachings. What further is clear is that Zarathushtra saw their teachings to be fundamentally antagonistic to his own, as was the primeval choice of Angra Mainyu different from that of Ahura Mazda. As we read in Yasna 32:

3. *But you daēvas, as well as the one who worships you, are all the seed of evil intention, the lie and perversity. Hateful too are your deeds, by which you have become renowned in this clime of the earth.*
4. *To the extent that you order these actions, which the worst mortals perform, the daēva-lovers increase as they continue to retreat from good thinking and disappear from the Lord Wisdom and from truth.*
5. *In this way you have led men astray from the good life and immortality, just as you have led yourselves, the daēvas and the evil spirit astray through your evil thought. Your deeds are evil. By them the Ruler will mark you as a follower of the Lie*

In light of the moral content of Zarathushtra's teaching, it would be a mistake, I think, to assume that his opposition to the *daēvas* was based upon narrow ethnic or clan rivalries. Zarathushtra's *Gathas*, it is true, reflect his humanity — especially his insecurity at not having found a patron. But his discussion of the *daēvas* almost indicates a sense of betrayal and disappointment, as opposed to unmixed rancor. In addition in Yasna 29.4 there is even a reference to Ahura Mazda's having concluded agreements with the *daēvas*, a precursor, perhaps, to later Zoroastrian speculations about a pact between the Lord Wisdom and his adversary. In all this, perhaps, one can detect the disappointment of a pastoral theologian who saw peace and order as the prerequisites of a prosperous and stable society, one which lived according to the precepts of truth and virtue. In the real *daēvanam daēva* of the Indo-Iranian tradition, the raucous and at times violent Indra, who is not mentioned by Zarathushtra himself but who makes a rather surprising appearance in the very late *Vendidad* and Pahlavi works, Zarathushtra saw not a *yazata*, one worthy of veneration, but rather the prototype of the bloody club-wielding *Aeshma*, the fury that afflicted his society with disorder and suffering.

4 Paul Thieme, *Mitra and Aryaman*, *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 41, 1957; L.H. Gray, "The Foundation

of the Iranian Religions," *Journal of the K R Cama Oriental Institute*, 15, Bombay, 1929.

Only three of the Indo-Iranian *dēvas* are ranked as demons in Zoroastrian demonology - the aforementioned Indra, Nānhaīθya, cognate with the Indic Nāsatya, who like Indra is mentioned as a guardian of the Mitanni treaty; and Savul, Indic Śarva, one of the names given to the fierce deity Rudra. Nevertheless the list of Iranian demons, all of which are eventually categorized as *daēva*, or Middle Persian *dēv*, is a lengthy one. Ancient Iran was productive of a great many stories involving monsters, like Aži Dahaka a three-headed dragon eventually slain by the hero, θraētaona, or Xnanθaiti, a witch slain by the hero Keresaspa.

Or there were also the *dēvs* particularly related to the laws of purity propounded by the Magi, Zoroastrianism's priestly class. It is likely that these priestly practices predated Zarathushtra and that the priests' preoccupation with the distinction between the pure or whole, *yaoždata*, and that which was corrupted simply meshed well with Zarathushtra's own ethical oppositionalism.

Among these corrupting *dēvs*, foremost was the Lie herself, the *druj*. The *druj*, like Asa, her counterpart among the *yazatas* or venerated ones, was both a concept and a demon. Whereas Zarathushtra saw the Lie as a source of the deception which led men and spirits to make the wrong choices, the Zoroastrian priesthood saw the Lie as manifest in the grossest material corruption. The most noxious manifestation of the Lie was the *druj nāsu*, a demon that corrupts the body of one who has just died. The affliction of corpses by this particular demon, who appears as a fly, provided the rationale for the Zoroastrian abhorrence of all dead things, including hair and nails. It also led to the elaborate ritual of the exposure of corpses in secluded and elevated places where vultures and dogs could perform these valuable roles of consuming the corrupted flesh. Also related to death is the demon Astōviđātu, literally "the one who causes the separation of the bones."

The Vendidad, a late Avestan text, contains a list of the most fearful of these *dēvs* many of whom are female. Along with the *druj nāsu*, there are Azi, unbridled lust; Bušyanstā, the long-handed demon of over-sleeping who prevents good Zoroastrians from observing the times of prayer; the Jahi, the Primal Whore who seduces worshippers of Ahura Mazda and the demons alike; and Vizareša, the ugly hag who drags away the soul of the lie-follower into the abyss of hell.

In addition to all these are the evil counterparts of the Holy Immortals the associates of Ahura Mazda, as well as various undesirable qualities which, like good attributes, take on separate "personalities." And, of course, there is the rich trove of the Iranian legendary tradition, as productive of monsters as it is of heroes.

The expansion of the category of the *daēvas* seems to have proceeded apace with the Iranization of the category. As the Indo-Iranian heritage was replaced by specifically Iranian developments the importance of the original *daēvas*, the major focus of Zarathushtra's disdain, recedes and the transformation of *daēva* from god to demon is complete. In this development we can see, perhaps, the impact of the fusion of the Magian Iranian priestly tradition, which was responsible for the maintenance of the regulations and rites of purity, with the ethical and theological concepts of Zarathushtra. This is not to say that Zarathushtra's poetry is not replete with this-worldly matters. But there is what we in the West would call an element of spiritualization in Zarathushtra's teachings which seems to be lacking in the Magian preoccupation with physical purity and the extirpation of the agents of corruption.

But finally I would argue that it was the dynamics of Zarathushtra's own clear elucidation of the principle of the reality of both good and evil in this world, in his clear assertion of the

belief that things are, as the *Shkand Gumanig Wizar* states, either essentially good or essentially evil or a mixture of the two, that impelled his followers to lump all evil beings into the category of *daēva*. Once it was concluded that evil, although it is multiform, is nevertheless one in its origin and essence, it was only natural that all evil-doing was attributed to the chief evil-doers of Zarathushtra's own time, the *daēvas*.

With the category of the *daēvas* thus expanded, the Prophet's opposition to the *daēvō-zusta* continued to be a major preoccupation of his followers in succeeding generations. The sin of *dēvēsnth*, *daēva*-worship, was applicable to a whole host of theological irregularities, opposing religions, and to the propitiation of real demons, *jādūgih*. The author of the *Shkand Gumanig Wizar* could point out that the disagreements between these forms of demon-worship, and here he is referring especially to the major opponents of Zoroastrianism of his time — Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and Manichaeism —, is in no way an argument against his central dualistic position. In fact these disagreements among the demon-worshippers helped to make his case. Since everyone knows that evil is internally inconsistent, perverse and self-destructive, the disparities among the opponents of the Good Religion only demonstrate that Zoroastrianism's oneness and self-consistency are irrefutable proofs of its alliance with Truth, which is unitary.

Throughout this essay I have tried to avoid use of the term dualism to describe Zarathushtra's teaching and the religion of his followers. Many Zoroastrians are offended by this term which, to them, when it is used in contrast with the term monotheism, seems to imply that while the monotheists worship one, they worship two. As is clear from the texts, and as I hope I have been able to emphasize, faithful Zoroastrians do not worship god and the devil. On the contrary, devil worship is rigidly forbidden and constitutes the gravest of sins. Indeed in Middle Persian literature it was the wrong choice of Mašye and Maspane, the first human couple, to proclaim the "The Gannāg Mēnōg (the foul spirit), created water plants and other things" that constituted humanity's first sin against God.

But neither did Zarathushtra and his followers deny to evil a real existence. Indeed it was in the making real of evil, of its having been placed in the temporal and spatial limitations of Finite Time and the created world that evil could be once and for all overcome. Otherwise the coexistence of good and evil would be eternal and unresolved. In this scheme of things there are no beneficent demons and few tragic figures. The choice of the gods to become demons set in motion history, a history which would finally be redeemed through the demons having been rendered powerless and the final victory of the Lord Wisdom.

Morgan Manuscript M. 1001: The Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Evil Ones

William M. Voelkle

Rabelais, in his highly satirical work, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, described how the monk and Gargantua had difficulty falling asleep.¹ As a remedy the monk suggested the recitation of the Seven Penitential Psalms. This odd couple barely finished the ten short verses of the first Penitential Psalm before the desired effect was achieved! Contrary to the view held by Rabelais, however, the Penitential Psalms played an important and serious role in medieval and later religious life. They were one of the texts usually included in the Book of Hours, the most frequently encountered type of late medieval manuscript. Indeed, in such a manuscript acquired by The Pierpont Morgan Library (M.1001) in 1979, the cycle of seven miniatures accompanying these Psalms is the most innovative and elaborate in the book. The miniatures, which depict the Seven Deadly Sins, were painted in Poitiers about 1475, and have been regarded as early works by Robinet Testard.² In this paper the complete cycle will be reproduced for the first time (Plates XXXVII–XL, figs. 1–7) and discussed within the context of Penitential Psalm illustration and the history of the depiction of the Seven Deadly Sins in the late medieval art.

Penitential Psalms, of course, have a very long history. As a literary genre, their ancestors can be found in the Babylonian Penitential Psalms.³ According to Eric Warner, the Penitential Psalms had already formed a part of the Jewish liturgy by the third century, and probably did so much earlier, though documentation is lacking.⁴ In the thirteenth-century *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine Augustine of Hippo had the Seven Penitential Psalms written out and propped against a wall ten days before his death.⁵ Although a fifteenth-century manuscript credits Augustine with the particular selection of these Psalms from the Book of Psalms, Possidius' biography of Augustine, which was composed within ten years after his

1 Book I, chapter 41.

2 For the attribution and a description of the manuscript see John Plummer, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts 1420–1530 from American Collections*, New York, 1982, 46–47 no 62.

3 For the historical background of the Penitential Psalms see Ruth Ringland Rains, *Les sept*

psaumes allégorisés of Christine de Pisan, Washington, 1965, 2–8.

4 *The Sacred Bridge. Liturgical Parallels in Synagogue and Early Church*, New York, 1970, 152.

5 Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, editors, *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, New York, 1941, 495.

death in 430, does not specify them.⁶ The standard group of Seven Penitential Psalms (6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, 142) were certainly known by the sixth century, for Cassiodorus (died 580) interpreted their number as "seven means for obtaining forgiveness: baptism, martyrdom, almsgiving, forgiving spirit, conversion of a sinner, love, and penance."⁷ Innocent the Third, who died in 1216, ordered them to be recited during Lent.⁸ As a group they were attached to the Breviary, and in Books of Hours they were followed by the Litany of Saints and the Office of the Dead, as in M.1001. Each of the Psalms in the Morgan manuscript is illustrated by one of the Seven Deadly Sins, forming a cycle, which, in its details, is unlike any known. Each sin is personified by a man riding an appropriate animal symbol, each is accompanied by a named devil who is somehow connected with the sin, and each includes a genre scene which illustrates the sin itself.

Above the beginning of the First Penitential Psalm (*Domine ne in furore . . .*) is a handsome young prince on a lion holding a scepter and admiring himself in a mirror (Plate XXXVII, fig. 1). An inscription in French identifies the personification as pride (*orgueil*). Pride always comes first in such cycles because it was regarded as the root of all evil and the beginning of all the Seven Deadly Sins. Here, as in the others, the facial expressions also help to characterize the sin.

The symbolic use of animals has a history that is as long as that of man's art. Their symbolic use during the Middle Ages, however, is seemingly justified by scripture itself, for Job (XII.7-8) tells Sopham to ask the beasts to teach him, and the birds of the air and the fish of the sea to tell him. In the Book of Genesis (XLIX.27) Benjamin is described as a ravenous wolf who devours his prey in the morning and divides the spoils at night. For Jerome (Commentary on Isaiah VI.4) "animals represented various types of men, most of whom were evil," and Chrysostom (Sermon on Genesis I.26-27) regarded the "animal world as a mirror of human morals."⁹ The animal lore of antiquity contained in the *Physiologus* also made an important contribution, for it was included in the medieval Bestiary. The interest in such lore prevailed even though the *Physiologus* was banned by the so-called Decretals of Pope Gelasius I in 496.¹⁰ Not surprisingly, the selection of all but one of the animals in the Morgan cycle can be explained with reference to their characterization in the Bestiary. For convenience the citations used here are from T.H. White's translation of the twelfth-century manuscript in Cambridge.¹¹

According to the text of the Bestiary the Lion is the "mightiest of beasts, will stand up to anybody, and be proud in the strength of his own nature."¹² At the bottom of the page is Lucifer (inscribed *Lucifer*), who points to a genre scene in which a haughty woman apparently rejects a suitor. According to Isaiah (XIV.12) Lucifer fell from heaven to hell on account of his pride. Although he is not described as a fallen angel, biblical commentators

6 Rains, *op. cit.*, 24-25.

7 R.E. Murphy, "Penitential Psalms," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI, New York, 1967, 85-86.

8 *Ibid.*, 85.

9 The references, as well as much background material, are given in the indispensable study by Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, East Lansing, 1952, 79.

10 *Ibid.*, 351 n. 156. For the decretals see "De libris recipiendis et non recipiendis," P.L., LIX, 177-178. The decretals are now regarded as an Italian composition of the early sixth century.

11 University Library, Ms. ci.4.26. *The Bestiary, A Book of Beasts*, New York, 1954.

12 *Ibid.*, 7.

equated him with Satan, the fallen angel of the Apocalypse (XII).¹³ Needless to say Lucifer appears first on many devil-sin lists. Such was the case for two partial lists found in Brother Laurent's *Somme le roi*¹⁴, a treatise written in 1279 for King Philippe III of France, and Ludolphus of Saxony's fourteenth-century *Vita Christi*.¹⁵ He is also given first in the complete list found in the *Lanterne of Lizt*, an anonymous Lollard tract composed in 1409 or 1410, which regards the Seven Deadly Sins as seven cruel devils.¹⁶ Quite unexpectedly, however, two other lists associated different devils with pride. The fully illustrated chart in Ulrich of Lilienfeld's *Concordantie Caritatis*¹⁷, which was completed before his death in 1358, and here published for the first time, gives Leviathan (Plates XLI–XLII, figs. 9, 10), while Dirck van Delft's *Tafel van den Kersten Gbelove*¹⁸, which was composed in 1404 for Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, Count of Holland, lists Beelzebub. Complete uniformity did not exist, and the Morgan devil-sin list is unlike any other. Lucifer's impressive antlers in the Morgan illustration may be connected with earlier representations of humility conquering pride, where pride is sometimes symbolized by a stag, such as in the late thirteenth-century *Somme le roi* manuscript in the British Library, where a stag occurs beneath the feet of humility.¹⁹

Illustrating the second psalm is envy (envie), personified by a young man with a magpie riding a camel (Plate XXXVII, fig. 2). Although the Bestiary offers no explanation for this connection, others, such as Lodovicus Caelius (1450–1520), refer to the camel as a “disdainful and discontented creature.” Further, when the camel petitioned Jupiter for horns, the god was so offended that he took away its ears, saying that “those who are so in love with other things they want deserve to lose the things they have.”²⁰ The use of the camel with this sin is unique, and no examples are listed in Bloomfield's exhaustive study of the Seven Deadly Sins, to which this author is most indebted.²¹ The camel usually personifies avarice because of its ability to store away vast quantities of reserve water.²² The chatty or gossip magpie is appropriate, for it is also a thieving bird much attracted to shiny objects, such as those in the scene below, where Beelzebub points to a group of people who seem

13 Gustav Davidson, *A Dictionary of the Angels Including the Fallen Angels*, New York, 1967, 176, 261.

14 W. Nelson Francis, *The Book of Vices and Virtues* (Early English Text Society, Original Series, 217), London, 1952, 10–11 (pride—Lucifer), 42 (avarice—Mammon), 45 (lust—Asmodeus).

15 L.M. Rigollot, Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Jesu Christi*, II, Paris, 1878, 210 (pride—Lucifer, lust—Asmodeus), 211 (avarice—Mammon, envy—Beelzebub). Here the text comments on Matthew XII.

16 As given by Bloomfield, *op. cit.*, 214 (pride—Lucifer), 215 (envy—Beelzebub, anger—Sathanas, sloth—Abaddon, avarice—Mammon, gluttony—Belphégor, lust—Asmodeus).

17 The illustrations are from M.1045 (fols. 256v–257), an Austrian copy illuminated in the 1470s, acquired by the Morgan Library in 1983 as part of the Clara S. Peck Bequest. For a descrip-

tion of the manuscript see the *Twentieth Report to the Fellows of The Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York, 1984, 24–30.

18 L.M.Fr. Daniëls, *Meester Dirck van Delf, O.P., Tafel van den Kersten Gbelove*, II, Winterstuc, Antwerp, 1937, 180 (pride—Beelzebub), 181 (lust—Asmodeus, gluttony—Behemoth), 182 (avarice—Mammon), 183 (anger—Abaddon, envy—Sathan), 184 (sloth—Leviathan).

19 Reproduced in Eric George Millar, *An Illuminated Manuscript of the Somme le Roy*, Oxford, 1953, pl. XXIXa.

20 As quoted by Edward Topsell, *The History of the Four-footed Beasts and Serpents and Insects*, London, 1658, 75.

21 Bloomfield, *op. cit.*, 246.

22 For examples see Samuel C. Chew, “Spencer's Pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins,” in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle Da Costa Greene*, ed. by Dorothy Miner, Princeton, 1954, 49, fig. 13.

overly concerned with money and riches.²³ The images of the camel and riches must surely have recalled Matthew XIX.24, where Christ told the disciples it was easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven.

The demon Beelzebub (Bellezebuth), like the others in the Morgan cycle, is derived from the Bible. Beelzebub, the god of Accaron, for example, is mentioned in 4 Kings 1. In the gospel of Matthew (XII.24), following a general practice, the god has been transformed into the "prince of devils." Augustine, in his *City of God*, for instance, showed that the false pagan gods were nothing more than "unclean spirits and malignant and lying demons."²⁴ (By this time the terms demon and devil were used interchangeably.) It was the envious pharisees who accused Christ of casting out devils by Beelzebub.

Anger (ire), the third sin in the series, rides a flame-breathing leopard, stabs himself in the chest, and, showing his teeth, bites his heart (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 3). The leopard is appropriate, for, according to the Bestiary, it rages with violence (note the ready teeth) and is "strongly inclined to bloodshed."²⁵ While anger has long been represented by a figure stabbing himself in the heart, the eating of the heart is usually associated with envy, as it is in the Bruegel print of 1558, where envy points to a turkey and literally eats her heart out.²⁶ That the heart (cor) is itself associated with anger is clearly demonstrated in the chart in the *Concordantiae Caritatis* (Plate XLI, fig. 9) which systematically links the sins with animals, trees, parts of the human body, devils and pagans. Leviathan (Leviathan), the accompanying devil, is shown with red wings and bears little resemblance to the formidable sea monster described in the Book of Job (XLI.1–25), nor does he sneeze fire or emit smoke. Gregory, in his commentary on Job, however, indicates that the Leviathan is in a rage whenever sin is cast off.²⁷ In the Jewish gnostic Apocalypse of Abraham, Leviathan was also regarded as a fallen angel.²⁸ Indeed, all of the named demons or devils in the Morgan cycle were once among the orders of the angels, as are those in the Dirck van Delft list. The latter occurs in the twenty-sixth chapter, which has the rubric "The seven devils who are the captains of the seven capital sins."²⁹ In the early fifteenth-century Dirck manuscript in the Walters Art Gallery, the chapter is introduced with a large historiated initial containing seven devils, two of which are winged. In Dirck's list, however, Leviathan is the devil of sloth, while Abaddon, the destroyer and angel of the bottomless pit in Apocalypse V is the devil of anger.³⁰ To my mind Abaddon was certainly the better choice. In Ulrich's list (Plate XLI, fig. 9) Behemoth, the male counterpart of Leviathan, was selected. According to the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch both were created by God on the fifth day.³¹ The genre scenes below are self-explanatory. On the left two fighting dogs are flanked by quarrelling women, while on the right three men are fighting, one about to push his sword into another. A hat has toppled to the ground in the struggle.

23 For the texts supporting the connection see Beryl Rowland, *Birds with Human Souls. A Guide to Bird Symbolism*, Knoxville, 1978, 102–105.

24 Book IV, chapter I.

25 White, *op. cit.*, 13.

26 H. Arthur Klein, *The Graphic Worlds of Peter Bruegel the Elder*, New York, 1963, 193–194, pl. 42.

27 Book IX, chapter 22.

28 Davidson, *op. cit.*, 173.

29 Daniëls, *op. cit.*, 179.

30 W. 171, fol. 105. For the manuscript see Margaret Rickert, "The Illuminated Manuscripts of Meester Dirck van Delf's *Tafel van den Kersten Ghelove*," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XII, 1949, 79–108.

31 See n. 18. For the Apocalypse of Baruch see R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, II, Oxford, 1913, 497.

The fourth sin, avarice (avarice), rides a wolf with gaping jaws, carries one money bag and empties another (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 4).³² According to the Bestiary wolves are known for their rapacity or greediness.³³ Such qualities we have already observed in the Book of Genesis (XLIX.27), where Benjamin was described as a ravenous wolf. Although the inscription with the winged devil in the background is largely obliterated, enough remains of the first letter (M) to identify him as Mammon. That the Dirck³⁴ and Ulrich (Plate XLII, fig. 10) lists also connect Mammon with avarice is no surprise, for the name occurs in Matthew XI and Luke XVI, where it specifically refers to riches. Thomas Aquinas, quoting the *Glosa ordinaria*, the most popular medieval compilation of biblical interpretations, stated that by "Mammon is meant the devil, who is the lord of money."³⁵ In the genre scene money is also emphasized. On the left a man seems to restrain a second from taking money from a third. In the center a woman with a prominently displayed purse stands over two seated women, while on the right a man with a large white sack negotiates with a man seated behind a desk covered with money.

The fifth sin is gluttony (glotonie), who rides a pig or swine, holds a ham in one hand, and spills wine all over himself while attempting to drink wine from a jug held in the other (Plate XXXIX, fig. 5). Onions are tucked into his belt. The winged devil below is Berith (Berich), the pagan god mentioned in Judges (IX.46). He is probably the same as the god Baalberith mentioned in Judges (IX.4), who likewise became a demon in later popular Jewish belief. If we are to believe Sébastien Michaelis' account of 1613, Baalberith was still active about 1609, when he possessed, along with 6665 other demons, the body of Sister Madeleine in Aix-en-Provence.³⁶ Verin, one of the demons exorcized from the nun, named some of the others, including Beelzebub and Leviathan, as well as the last two demons named in the Morgan cycle. At the bottom of the page Berith covers his mouth and points to a table where a woman helps a man to vomit and others overindulge in eating or drinking.

In the sixth sin a sleeping sloth (pesse) is about to fall from his collapsed donkey (Plate XXXIX, fig. 6), which the Bestiary describes as a slow moving beast.³⁷ Below, Astarot (Astarot) points to a snoozing woman with a distaff and a cobbler who has fallen asleep while cutting out a shoe pattern for a customer who has also fallen asleep. The son of the customer attempts to wake him up or prevent him from falling. The cobbler's assistant is also asleep. In the back room shoe bottoms are attached to a suspended wheel. That a shoemaker's shop³⁸ was included here is highly appropriate, for the sin of sloth was connected

32 The motif of the spilling of the coins is most curious, as it is usually associated with largesse or liberality, the virtue usually paired with avarice. For examples of largesse with this motif see the miniatures in the Cluny Museum (Ms. 1815, fol. 2v) and the British Library (Add. Ms. 54782, fol. 43). The former is described in Amédée Boinet, *Choix de miniatures détachées conservées au Musée de Cluny, à Paris*, Paris, 1922, 20. The miniatures illustrate a series of verses on the virtues and vices composed for Louise de Savoie, duchesse of Angoulême and mother of Francis I, who were both patrons of Robinet Testard. The latter is

reproduced by D.H. Turner, *The Hastings Hours*, London, 1983, 132, pl. fol. 43.

33 White, *op. cit.*, 56.

34 See n. 18.

35 As quoted by Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea, Commentary on the Four Gospels*, I, Oxford, 1874, 248.

36 Rossell Hope Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, New York, 1959, 20–25.

37 White, *op. cit.*, 82.

38 For other representations of a cobbler's shop see Wilhelm Treue and others, *Das Hausbuch*

with the feet, as it is in Ulrich of Lilienfeld's *Concordantiae Caritatis*, where the various sins were systematically connected with parts of the human body (Plates XLI–XLII, figs. 9–10). Astarot is actually the pagan goddess Astarte mentioned in Judges (II.13), I Kings (VII.4), IV Kings (XXIII.13) and elsewhere in the Old Testament. According to III Kings (XI.5) she was also worshipped by King Solomon. For reasons that are not entirely clear, the Jews and Christians transformed her into a male demon. The Morgan illustration appears to be the earliest known. Astaroth subsequently became increasingly popular and was connected with sloth in the late devil-sin lists, such as that published in 1613 by Sébastien Michaelis, the exorcist previously mentioned.³⁹ Indeed, earlier demonologists were also concerned with witchcraft including Peter Binsfeld, who published in 1589 a hierarchy of demons with the "power to urge people to commit specific deadly sins."⁴⁰

In the last sin lust (luxure) rides an old he-goat (Plate XL, fig. 7), which the Bestiary describes as a "lascivious and butting animal who is always burning for coition."⁴¹ Lust gazes intently at the bird in his right hand, while he fondles one of the goat's horns with the other. The bird, though not precisely rendered, seems to belong to the thrush family. It most closely resembles the mistletoe thrush, which has gray head coloring, but the song thrush, which does not, was one of the birds which was included in the Garden of Love in the thirteenth-century *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun. Though both birds have amorous associations, the former ate the berries of the mistletoe, a nightingale would have been more appropriate, for in a twelfth-century bird debate, it was specifically condemned for encouraging lust.⁴² The nightingale, also a member of the thrush family, may actually have been intended, for it is more heard than seen, and the artist may have mistakenly assumed that it was also spotted. Lust, who wears two rings on his right hand, is the only rider wearing spurs. Below, Asmodeus (Asmodeus), a wild shouting demon, points to two scenes, one involving a call girl, the other, a rather daring man who has his hand under a woman's dress. Unlike most of the other demons or devils that have been considered, Asmodeus is most clearly described as such in Scripture itself. In the Book of Tobias (III–VIII) Sarah had gone through seven husbands before she married Tobias because a devil named Asmodeus had killed each of them when they attempted to enter her. Tobias, however, taking the friendly advice of the angel Raphael, kept Asmodeus away by burning the liver of fish. Raphael subsequently bound the devil and took him to Egypt, where such demons were apparently collected. Nevertheless, Asmodeus, along with Baalberith and Astaroth, were still 'active' in 1633, when they were involved in the famous scandal at the convent of Loudon. There they possessed Jeanne des Anges and several other nuns.⁴³ The Bibliothèque Nationale even possesses a document (fr. 7618) dated 29 May 1624 purported-

der Mendelschen Zwölfbrüderstiftung zu Nürnberg, Deutsche Handwerkerbilder des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, Bildband, Munich, 1965, pls. 34, 84, 108, 122, 142, 259, 260.

³⁹ Wade Baskin, *Dictionary of Satanism*, New York, 1972, 221.

⁴⁰ Robbins, *op. cit.*, 127 (Lucifer—pride, Mammon—avarice, Asmodeus lust, Satan—anger, Beelzebub—gluttony, Leviathan—envy, Belphegor—sloth)

⁴¹ White, *op. cit.*, 74.

⁴² The texts are cited by Rowland, *op. cit.*, 105–111 (for the nightingale), 174–177 (for the thrushes). A miniature with a nightingale bringing dreams of lust to a woman in the presence of a devil is reproduced on 107.

⁴³ Robbins, *op. cit.*, 312–317. See also Aldous Leonard Huxley, *The Devils of Loudon*, New York, 1952.

ly signed by Asmodeus in which he agrees to leave the body of an unnamed person!⁴⁴ Asmodeus appears in most devil-sin lists with lust, except for that in the *Concordantiae Caritatis*, where the demon is Belphegor (Plate XLII, fig. 10).

Although the Seven Penitential Psalms contain prayers of penitent sinners asking for mercy and deliverance, they were not illustrated with cycles of the Seven Deadly Sins before the fifteenth century. The most frequently occurring pictures show David in prayer, for he was regarded as the author of the Psalms and a type for the penitent sinner. Representations of Christ in Majesty or the Last Judgment also occur, but less frequently. Especially popular during the second half of the fifteenth century, and slightly later, were pictures of David observing Bathsheba in her bath (Plate XLIII, fig. 11). This choice is easily explained by the title of Psalm 50, which mentions David's adultery with her. This Psalm is the only Penitential Psalm which refers to a specific deadly sin. Although the titles of the Psalms are no longer regarded as contemporary with the composition of the Psalms, they were clearly part of the rabbinic tradition and used in Jerome's Vulgate edition of the Bible. A more important precursor for our cycle, however, is the iconographic program that was developed by the 1420s in Paris, and which survives in several nearly contemporary Books of Hours. The most famous of these is the Bedford Hours in the British Library, which was made for John, Duke of Bedford.⁴⁵ In the large miniature (Plate XLIV, fig. 12) which begins the Penitential Psalm section David is shown three times; observing Bathsheba with Uriah, giving Uriah the message for Joab which will bring about Uriah's departure and ultimate death in battle, and, at the top, kneeling in prayer. In the borders are paired representations of the virtues and vices: humility and pride, patience and anger, charity and envy, chastity and lust, sobriety and gluttony, sufficiency and avarice, and diligence and sloth. The juxtaposition of the virtues and vices is explained by an inscription at the bottom of the page: Et y sont les vii vertus contre les vii vices — and here are the seven virtues against the seven vices. Although the vices are quite different from those in the Morgan cycle, and are not mounted on symbolic animals, they are important for our story because they are here, for the first time, represented with the Seven Penitential Psalms. Our cycle, however, is not merely a simplification of the Bedford Hours scheme in which the virtues have been eliminated and where each sin, with animal mounts and devils, has been distributed among the individual Psalms. Neither cycle is directly based on the fifth-century *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, in which virtues, as maidens in armor, carry on battle against the vices, for Prudentius did not associate the vices with symbolic animals. The Morgan cycle, however, is somehow connected with manuscripts based on the Prudentius tradition, where representations of the Seven Deadly Sins on animal mounts can be found. The earliest occurrence seems to be the manuscript of Gotfridus' *Lumen animae* in Vorau, which was apparently written there in 1332. Gluttony, for example (Plate XLV, fig. 13), rides a wild cat, has a fox on her helmet, a pike on her shield, and a dog-like animal on her mantle.⁴⁶ The series, all with women, was used in

44 The document is reproduced by Émile Gril-lot de Givry, *The Illustrated Antbology of Sorcery, Magic, and Alchemy*, New York, 1973, 163, fig. 140, who was apparently convinced of its authenticity.

45 Also reproduced by Rosemond Tuve, "Some Notes on the Virtues and Vices," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, XXVII,

1964, 67, pl. 12c. Other examples are in the Morgan Library (M. 453, fol. 98v) and in the Austrian National Library (Cod. 1855, fol. 153v).

46 See Paul Buberl, *Illuminierte Handschriften in der Steiermark* (I. Teil, Admont und Vorau), *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, IV, Leipzig, 1911, fig. 202.

later German cycles, first in manuscripts, such as the largely unpublished cycle of about 1460 in the Morgan Library (M. 782), and later, in woodcut cycles such as that printed in Augsburg in 1474.⁴⁷ The virtues, like the vices, have equally complex attributes, but they are the aggressors and are armed with spears. Since M. 1001 uses men, and, except for sloth, different animal mounts, the German tradition does not need to be treated in greater detail here. At the end of the fifteenth century, however, a simplified version of the Psychomachia scheme, but with a different selection of animals, appeared in the borders of Parisian printed books, such as Simon Vostre's 1499 edition of Pierre Gringore's *Château de labour*⁴⁸ and Antonio Verard's Book of Hours of about 1503.⁴⁹ Both used the same plates. The latter set, it should be pointed out, does not specifically illustrate the Seven Penitential Psalms, and only four animals agree with the Morgan cycle.

By 1450, a cycle of Penitential Psalm illustration was produced in France which comes closest to our own. It occurs in a Book of Hours made for Jean Dunois, which is now in the British Library (Yates-Thompson 3).⁵⁰ Although the first Psalm is illustrated with the traditional David in prayer, the others are each illustrated with a deadly sin, except for the second, which contains two, pride on a lion, and envy, a woman seated on a dog (Plate XLV, fig. 14). According to the accompanying rubric the Psalm was written when David had committed envy against Uriah by raping Bathsheba. The third Psalm is represented by sloth, who seems to fall asleep on his donkey. In the fourth anger is seated on a leopard (Plate XLVI, fig. 15) and stabs himself. According to the rubric the Psalm was written after David had suffered anger and had Uriah killed. In the fifth gluttony appears as a well-dressed man on a wolf, followed by a servant with flagons of wine. For the sixth an elegant woman seated on a goat and holding a mirror and two darts represents lust (Plate XLVI, fig. 16). In the background David observes Bathsheba bathing. In the last, avarice, with a chest of money, sits on an ape and receives additional income. Although the Dunois cycle is similar to the Morgan cycle, two women are included, only four of the animals agree, and the order of the sins, except for the first two, is different.

A most important ingredient for our story, however, is the added textual association of Psalms and sins, for here the rubrics state that David wrote the Psalms when he committed the various sins. Indeed, in a slightly later Horae by the Coetivy Master, to be sold at Sotheby's in London (2 December 1986), these rubrics are expanded and occur at the end of each Psalm, while at the beginning, except for the first Psalm, there is a rubric, in Latin,

47 The avarice in the Morgan Library (M. 782, fol. 102) is reproduced by Chew, *op. cit.*, fig. 14, who also supplies references for the woodcut cycles (38 n. 5) of the *Buch von den sieben Todsünden und den sieben Tugenden*.

48 The series is reproduced by Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, Paris, 1922, figs. 189–192.

49 Morgan Library, Acc. no. 590

50 The manuscript is described by Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Fifty Manuscripts from the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson*, Cambridge, 1898, 49–57. All but one of the Psalm illustrations is reproduced in *Illustrations from One Hundred Manuscripts in the Li-*

brary of Henry Yates Thompson, V, London, 1915, pls. 50, 51; see also Tuve, *op. cit.*, 67–68. The Dunois cycle also, occurs as a composite frontispiece (Plate XLVII, fig. 17) for the Penitential Psalms in a Book of Hours of ca. 1470 in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 215, fol. 122v). As in the Dunois cycle Pride and Envy are together. The manuscript is described by Victor Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures*, Paris, 1927, II, no. 274, 238–241, and was exhibited at the Bijloekemuseum in Ghent in 1975 (*Gent. Duizend Jaar Kunst en Cultuur*, II, no. 602, 368–369). No. 607 in the same catalogue, a Flemish Horae of ca. 1475 in Madrid (Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. Vit. 24-10) contains another such composite miniature

which starts with the words *contra peccatum* and ends with the name of each sin. The order is identical to that in the Dunois Hours, but its David miniature is not followed by illustrations of the sins themselves. In a contemporary Flemish Horae in the Walters Art Gallery (W. 240), called to my attention by Roger S. Wieck, a different set of pairings can be found. The Psalms in the Baltimore manuscript are preceded by a Last Judgment miniature and the individual sins are again not represented. Yet another set of pairings can be found in a Book of Hours printed in Paris in 1513 by Guillaume Eustace, where a prefatory rubric states that the Psalms were specifically used against the seven sins (Plate XLIII, fig. 11).⁵¹ The Psalms begin with two full-page illustrations. On the left David gives Uriah the message for Joab which will bring about his death. At the bottom of the page is the inscription — *contra septem peccata criminalia*. At the end of the last line is the rubric for the first Penitential Psalm (6), *contra iram* (against anger). The Psalm itself begins on the opposite page (*Domine ne . . .*), where David beholds Bathsheba. In the background Uriah is killed in battle. The other Psalms are not illustrated, but each is preceded with a rubric invoking it against pride, gluttony, lust, avarice, envy, and sloth respectively, presenting yet another ordering of the sins. Anger was probably placed first because of its connection with the killing of Uriah, while Lust was connected with the fourth Psalm because its title, as observed earlier, specifically referred to David's adultery. This particular ordering of sins and Psalms also had a following, as the same series of rubrics occur with the Penitential Psalms, though unillustrated, in a late sixteenth-century Italian Horae in the collection of Dr. Scott Schwartz. While the connection between the Psalms and specific sins is thus seen to vary, their general use against the Seven Deadly Sins is also stated elsewhere.

In the *Ghost of Gy*, for example, Gy (died 1323) returns to torment his wife. She, beside herself, summons a number of priests, including a prior. The ghost then "tells the prior that contrary to the latter's belief that the Pater Noster, Ave, and Creed are the most efficacious prayers for souls in purgatory, it is really the litany and the Seven Penitential Psalms which are best, for they are ordained to be said against the Seven Deadly Sins."⁵² In the Morgan cycle, therefore, the Penitential Psalms themselves have replaced the virtues as weapons to be used against the Seven Deadly or Mortal Sins. It is perhaps worth nothing that the incipits of the Psalms are located directly above the secular scenes depicting the commission of the sins.

Nor is there agreement between the Dunois cycle and the earliest surviving French cycle of mounted sins, which occur in a theological treatise of about 1390 in the Bibliothèque Nationale (fr. 400).⁵³ That cycle includes inscriptions which fully identify the figures, animal mounts, and birds. Pride, for example, is represented as a king on a lion holding an eagle (Plate XLVIII, fig. 18). Envy is a monk riding a dog and holding a sparrowhawk (Plate XLIX, fig. 19). Anger is a woman on a wild boar holding a rooster. The cycle ends with lust, a woman on a goat holding a dove. But in this cycle too the sex of the personifications and their animal attributes also vary. The sequence of the sins, except for the first two, do not agree. The lack of an authoritative ordering of the sins has much to do with the fact that no such lists are contained in Scripture itself. Indeed, the earliest Christian list of chief sins, which was compiled by the desert monk Evagrius of Pontus (died about 400), contained eight. Our list of seven ultimately derives from that given in Gregory the Great's com-

51 Morgan Library, Acc. no. 15561.

52 Quoted from Bloomfield, *op. cit.*, 178.

53 The series is reproduced by Mâle, *op. cit.*, figs. 178-184.

mentary on the Book of Job, where he stated that the seven sins sprang from pride and attack like an army. They are vainglory, envy, anger, melancholy, avarice, gluttony, and lust. Gregory's vainglory was eventually combined with pride and melancholy became sloth, resulting in our present list of seven. These were first called the cardinal or chief sins, and their names did not become fixed until the thirteenth century. Subsequently they began to be called the Seven Deadly or Mortal Sins.⁵⁴ Although the Morgan sins are clearly derived from the Gregorian tradition, and contain the now standard seven sins, the order is not identical. Uniformity was simply not authoritatively established or maintained. In the Morgan list, however, the so-called sins of the spirit (pride, envy, anger, avarice) precede those of the flesh (gluttony, sloth, lust). Although sloth was not generally regarded as a sin of flesh in the early middle ages, its position gradually changed. In the monastic setting out of which the sin lists grew, sloth originally referred more to negligence in religious duty than to laziness. Walter Hilton (died 1396) and others had placed sloth with gluttony and lechery, which had always been considered as sins of the flesh.⁵⁵ The Morgan sequence also seems to agree with the system classifying the sins as those of the devil (pride, envy, anger), the world (avarice) and the flesh (gluttony, sloth, lust).⁵⁶ Such concepts, frequently found in vernacular texts, also played an important role in popularizing the concept of the Seven Deadly Sins.

In the late middle ages the Seven Deadly Sins, since they led to eternal damnation, became readily associated with the Last Judgment and the cult of death. In the Library's Hours of Catherine of Cleves, the mouth of Hell is supported by a green demon from whose mouth issue scrolls with the names of the Seven Deadly Sins (Plate L, fig. 20). In M 1001 the miniature following the Penitential Psalms illustrates the Last Judgment (Plate XL, fig. 8). The text is the Office of the Dead. The miniature, perhaps as a warning, seems to emphasize the souls being conveyed to hell rather than the blessed in heaven. This imagery may somehow connect the Morgan cycle with about nine or ten late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century wall paintings in provincial French churches, some near Poitiers, where representations of the Seven Deadly Sins on animal mounts are connected with chains, forming a procession leading to the mouth of Hell.⁵⁷ In the few that are described, as far as can be determined at this writing, none conform exactly to the Morgan cycle, and only one, at St. Pierre-ès-Liens in Martignac, contains named demons. These are currently being studied by Dr. Joanne S. Norman of Carleton University, who believes that their purpose was didactic, and connected with preaching, confession, and penance. They form a kind of simplified visual counterpart to the *Ménagier de Paris*, written about 1393, where the seven sins and their branches are described in great detail so that the "sinner will be shown how to know wherein he has erred."⁵⁸ In the *Eruditorium poenitentiale* published by Antoine Caillaut in Paris about 1490, there is a cycle of the Seven Deadly Sins, each with a man riding a symbolic mount (only three of which agree with the Morgan cycle). In any case, whether as warnings or confessional aids, representations of the sins certainly rose in popularity during the fifteenth century, and appeared in new contexts.

54 Summarized from Bloomfield, *op. cit.*, 43ff.

55 *Ibid.*, 181.

56 Chew, *op. cit.*, 41, 46.

57 Some are listed by Mâle, *op. cit.*, 333-334.

58 *The Goodman of Paris (Le Ménagier de Paris)*, transl. by Eileen Power, London, 1928, 65. The virtues which are regarded as the contraries of the vices are the same as those in the Bedford Hours.

In an Apocalypse in the Morgan Library made for Jean, Duc de Berry about 1415, the seven plagues (XV.7) are shown as seven men with attributes representing the Seven Deadly Sins.⁵⁹ Although the seven heads of the beast that rose from the sea in the Apocalypse (XIII.1) had been interpreted as seven sins by the twelfth century, the heads were not differentiated in art until the end of the thirteenth century. In the *Somme le roi* of 1295 in Paris, for example, the head of a lion, dog, fox, boar, and goat can be discerned.⁶⁰ According to Laurent's text the seven heads are the seven chief sins by which the devil draws nearly the whole world to himself. An inscription above the beast states that it signifies the devil. The Apocalypse text itself describes the beast as having seven heads and ten horns, each with a crown. It had the body of a leopard, the feet of a bear, and the head of a lion. One of its heads appeared slain, yet the wound was healed. The image has been likened to the seven-headed hydra and to the seven-headed beast portrayed on an Early Dynastic shell plaque in the Lands of the Bible Foundation Collection.⁶¹ The spots and several heads of the latter, which is discussed and reproduced in Donald Hansen's article (Plate XVI, fig. 29), are particularly striking. The Apocalyptic Beast found its finest expression in Albrecht Dürer's woodcut Apocalypse of 1498, where seven different animal heads, one of which droops, represent the Seven Deadly Sins.⁶² The Apocalyptic Beast was actually used to illustrate the Seven Penitential Psalms in an Office of the Virgin printed in Venice by Juntas in 1591; over each of the heads is a roundel containing a female personification of a sin with an animal attribute (Plate LI, fig. 21).⁶³

The Seven Deadly Sins also populated the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil in frontispieces to printed editions of Boccaccio's *De Praeclaris Mulieribus*, even though the text with which it begins does not mention them. In the Fall of Man in the Louvain edition of 1487 tiny busts with attributes representing the sins occupy the branches of the tree.⁶⁴ Some authors, such as John Wycliffe (died 1384), claimed that Adam and Eve committed all seven sins, explaining that just as all virtues are linked, so are all the sins connected.⁶⁵

The changes that occur in illustrated manuscripts of Augustine's *City of God* also reflect the profound interest in the sins at the time the Morgan cycle was painted. Although its text does not mention the Seven Deadly Sins, they systematically take over the outer extremities of the circular city of man, which, like a pie, is divided into seven sections. In the manuscript of about 1478 in the Hague, the three sections defined by seven joyfully dancing demons represent anger, sloth and avarice. In the pointed and smaller sections of each pie are the corresponding virtues, patience, diligence, and largesse.⁶⁶

A circular composition, but without the virtues, was also used by Hieronymus Bosch in his famous tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins in the Prado, which includes four smaller

59 M. 133, fol. 57v. For the manuscript see Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry, The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*, New York, 1974, 296–303.

60 Mazarine Library, Ms. 870, fol. 8. Reproduced by Millar, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIVa.

61 See also Oscar White Muscarella, editor, *Ladders to Heaven, Art Treasures from the Lands of the Bible*, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 1981, fig. 28.

62 See Franz von Juraschek, "Der Todsünden-drache in Dürer's Apokalypse," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LVIII, 1937, 189–194, Abb. 3b.

63 Morgan Library, Acc. no. 15102, fol. 146v.

64 Chew, *op. cit.*, fig. 2.

65 Bloomfield, *op. cit.*, 190.

66 Museum Meermano-Westreenianum, Ms. 11, fol. 6. Reproduced by Le Comte A. de Laborde, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustin*, III, Paris, 1909, pl. LXXIV.

roundels representing the Four Last Things: Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell.⁶⁷ As in the *City of God* illustration, the sins are not personified, but are being committed. Sloth is shown as a sleeping cleric, a type for the sin with which Rabelais may have been familiar. In the Hell roundel it is clear that the Seven Deadly Sins have now restructured Hell itself, for punishments appropriate for each sin have been illustrated and labelled. That devils should inflict punishments was seemingly supported by Thomas Aquinas, who said that sinners would be tortured by those who were their temptors in sin.⁶⁸ Specific torments for the Seven Deadly Sins were also illustrated in contemporary printed books. The most important of these was the *Kalendar and Compost of Shepherds*, which was published by Guy Marchant in Paris in 1493, and included a separate woodcut for each sin.⁶⁹ The author's purpose was to "show the lay people what punishment was ordained for every deadly sin . . . so that they may better show their sins in confession and make clear their conscience." According to the text the descriptions are by Lazarus, who saw the torments in Hell and recounted them after his resurrection by Christ. The gluttonous (Plate LII, fig. 22), for example, were forced to drink foul and stinking waters, and were treated to a gourmet meal of toads. The lecherous were placed in deep wells of fire and sulphur and were incessantly tormented by devils. The devil liked lust best of all because it corrupted both body and soul, and won him two souls at once. Similarly rendered demons, usually the two-legged Pan type discussed in Peter H. von Blanckenhagen's article (p. 91 ff.), also inhabit the borders of a French Book of Hours printed in Paris for Gillet Hardouin in 1503 (Plate LII, fig. 23), where they physically encourage the commission of the Seven Deadly Sins.⁷⁰ Caesarius of Heisterbach (prior from 1200–1235), in his *Dialogue of Miracles*, regarded such temptations as fitting, for he said "If the devil tempted the first man in Paradise, if he presumed to tempt Christ in the desert, what man is there in the world that he will leave untempted?" The Caesarius quotation actually begins his fascinating chapter on demons, in which he reports their various activities at the time.⁷¹ To judge from the woodcut illustrations of the *Ars Moriendi*, such demons were extremely persistent, and surrounded even dying persons, making a final attempt to win their souls.⁷² In a sense, such demons were a kind of hobgoblin for grown-ups, and a belief in them could lead to possession.

Indeed, such possession is documented in Scripture. Christ, according to the combined accounts of Mark (XVI.9) and Luke (VIII.2), cast seven devils out of Mary Magdalen. Apparently the literal exorcism was rarely depicted, and the only example known to me is a nineteenth-century forgery in the Morgan Library (Plate LIII, fig. 24).⁷³ Although Gregory the Great and others stated that the seven referred to all sins, late commentators such as Aquinas suggested that they were the seven spirits contrary to the seven virtues or the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁴ For Caesarius of Heisterbach the seven devils signified the Seven

67 For a discussion of the tabletop and the Four Last Things see Barbara G. Lane, "Bosch's Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins and the Cordiale Quattuor Novissimorum," in *Tribute to Lotte Brand Philip, Art Historian and Detective*, New York, 1985, 89–94, figs. 1–5.

68 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, transl. by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province, III, New York, 1947, 2942, 3019.

69 The series is reproduced in the facsimile

edited by G.C. Heseltine, London, 1930, 34.

70 Morgan Library, Acc. no. 19286

71 Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, I, transl. by H. van E. Scott and C.C. Swinton Bland, London, 1929, 313ff.

72 See Mâle, *op. cit.*, figs. 213–218.

73 M. 54, fol. 86. See as well the author's *Spanish Forger*, New York, 1978, 65–66

74 Bloomfield, *op. cit.*, 73, and Aquinas, *Caetena Aurea*, III, Oxford, 1874, 341.

Deadly Sins.⁷⁵ In the late fifteenth-century Digby mysteries Mary Magdalen is tempted by characters actually representing the Seven Deadly Sins, whose purpose is to bring her to Hell. After Christ's successful exorcism, however, the seven unsuccessful devils were judged. As punishment they were beat on the buttocks.⁷⁶ We have, thus, traced a telling exegetical development which reflects the emergence and rising popularity of the concept of the Seven Deadly Sins.

These seven devils or spirits, however, may have a much older history, for they recall the groups of seven evil spirits in the various incantation texts which accompany the Near Eastern *Utukki Limnuti* series. The texts, which come from Assurbanipal's seventh-century library, were written on clay tablets which are now preserved in the British Museum. Although the seven evil ones are not specifically named, they are partially described on tablet sixteen: "of these the first is the South Wind, the second is a dragon with mouth agape that none can withstand, the third is a grim leopard that carries off children, the fourth is a terrible serpent, the fifth is a furious beast, the sixth is a rampant animal (the name has not been preserved on the tablet), and the seventh is an evil windstorm. These seven are the messengers of Anu, the king bearing gloom from city to city. They are tempests and destroyers. They take their stand for evil and none oppose."⁷⁷ That the third is a leopard, as in the Morgan cycle, must be fortuitous. The idea of seven evil ones connected with a higher authority reminds us that the Seven Deadly Sins were regarded as captains of Satan, a concept also expressed in a charming woodcut of 1490 where the Seven Deadly Sins, shown as women on symbolic mounts, are lined up and ready to do battle under Satan, who leads them.⁷⁸ Although no representations of the Babylonian seven evil ones described in the *Utukki Limnuti* text have been identified, it has been suggested that the procession of seven demons on an Assyrian ninth to seventh-century B.C. plaque in the De Clercq Collection (Louvre) may represent the seven evil ones (Plate LIV, fig. 25).⁷⁹ Their postures are threatening, and each has the head of a different animal. Above the procession are seven emblems of various deities, while below two priests in fish-like garments flank a man in bed. On the bottom of the plaque, on a boat with a donkey, is Lamashtu. Peering over the top of the plaque is Pazuzu, king of the evil demons (Plate LIV, fig. 26). Morton Bloomfield and others have suggested that such incantation texts somehow influenced or contributed to the concept of the chief, and ultimately, Seven Deadly Sins. A fascinating link may be found in the second century B.C. Testament of Reuben, who felt compelled, before his death, to warn his children about the "seven spirits of deceit" who were appointed against man.⁸⁰ Most of these relate to the Seven Deadly Sins: the first spirit was fornication, followed by the insatiableness of the belly, fighting, obsequiousness, pride, the spirit of lying and jealousy, and ending with the spirit of injustice, thefts and rapacious acts. Reuben had defiled his father's bed after he had seen Bilhah at her bath. Like David, he subsequently repented. The exorcism of the seven spirits from Mary Magdalen represents yet a later vestige of such beliefs, although an important difference has already been established. The Near Eastern demons

75 Caesarius of Heisterbach, *op. cit.*, 196.

76 F.J. Furnivall, ed., *The Digby Plays*, London, 1882, 66f., 82-83.

77 Quoted from R. Campbell Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, I, London, 1903, xlii-xliii, 88-91.

78 Reproduced by Chew, *op. cit.*, fig. 1.

79 Charles Clermont-Ganneau, in *Collection De Clercq, Catalogue méthodique et raisonné*, II, Paris, 1903, 213-228, pl. XXXIV.

80 Charles, *op. cit.*, II, 296-298.

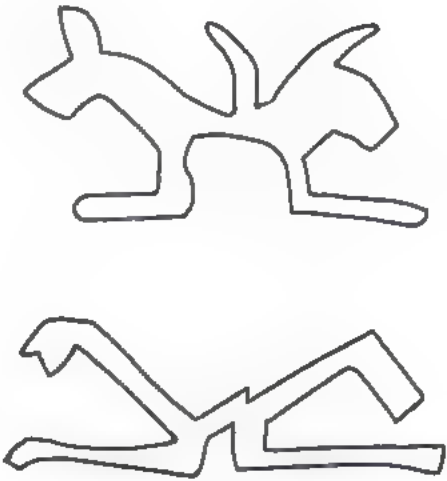
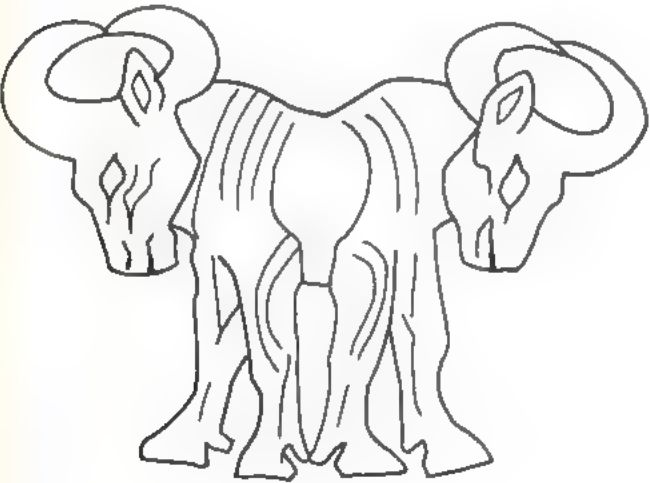
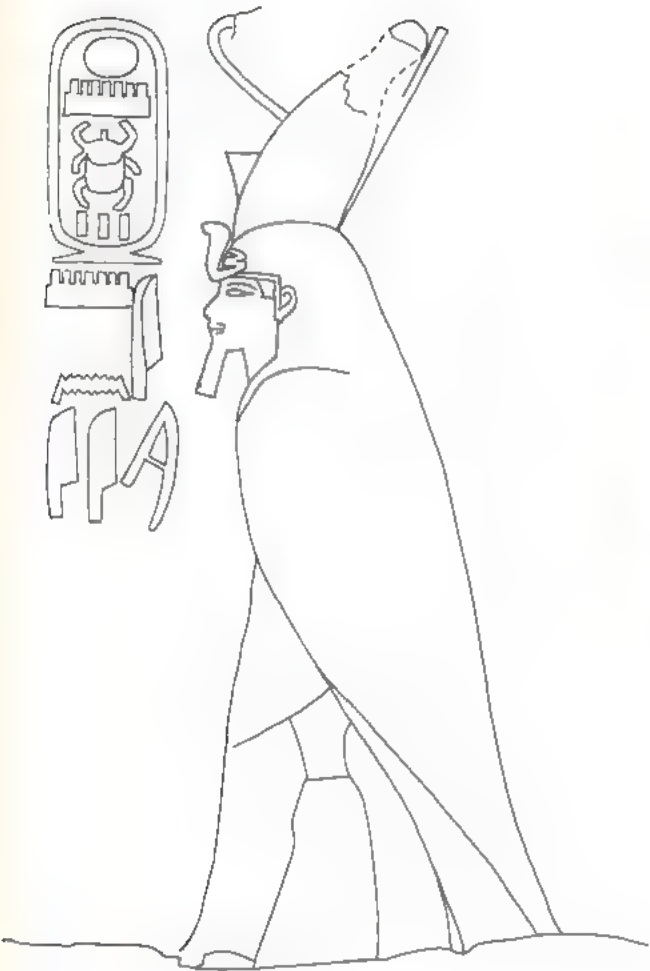
attempt to physically harm and kill, while the New Testament devils attempt to win souls. Their primary concern is to bring about eternal damnation. Physical death is secondary. Aquinas made the same point when he said that a sin is called deadly, not because it is punished with temporal death, but because it is punished with eternal death.⁸¹ In the Testament of Reuben, this nuance did not yet appear, for had his father not prayed for him, he would have been destroyed by the Lord.

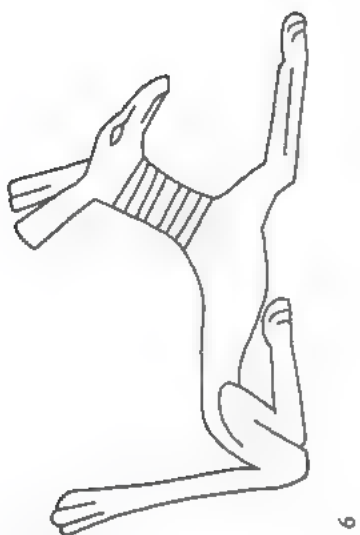
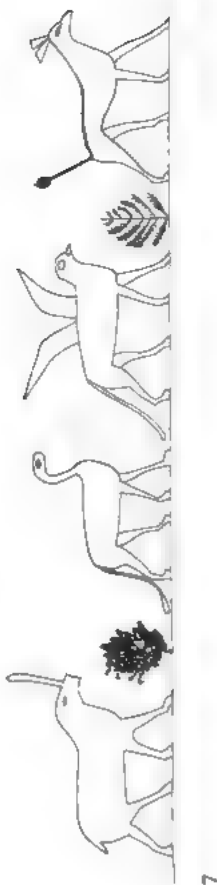
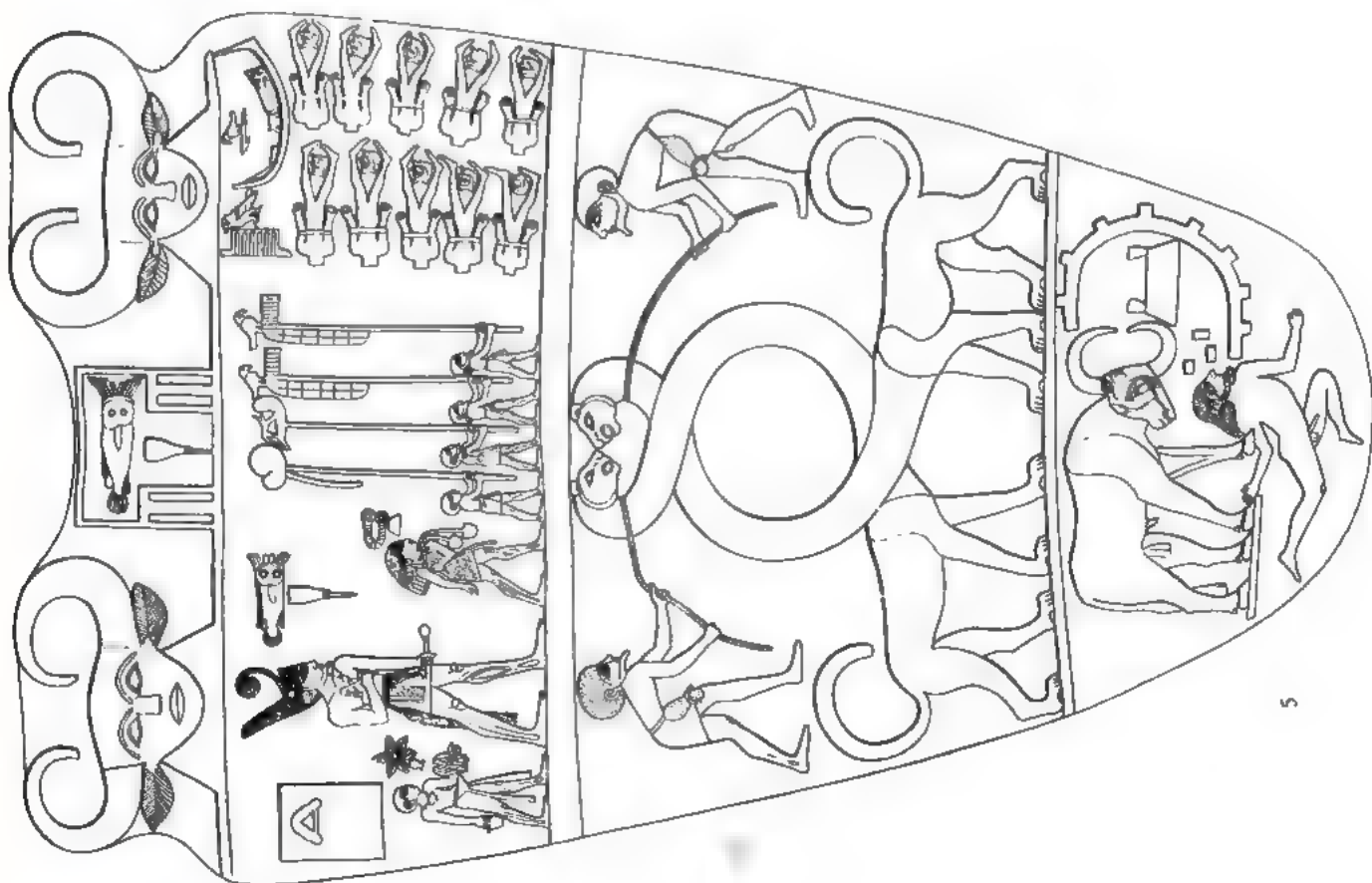
We do not know for whom M. 1001 was made, but, if properly used, it should have provided its owner with protection against the Seven Deadly Sins, and thus, the horrors of Hell which those who committed them could expect. The Seven Deadly Sins also triumphed in the sixteenth century, in a series of monumental tapestries patterned after the *Trionfi* of Petrarch and designed by Pieter Coeck van Aelst.⁸² One of these, the Triumph of Avarice, hangs over the fireplace in the East Room of the Morgan Library, the new home of the unique cycle of the Seven Deadly Sins just discussed.

81 Aquinas, *op. cit.*, III, 2812.

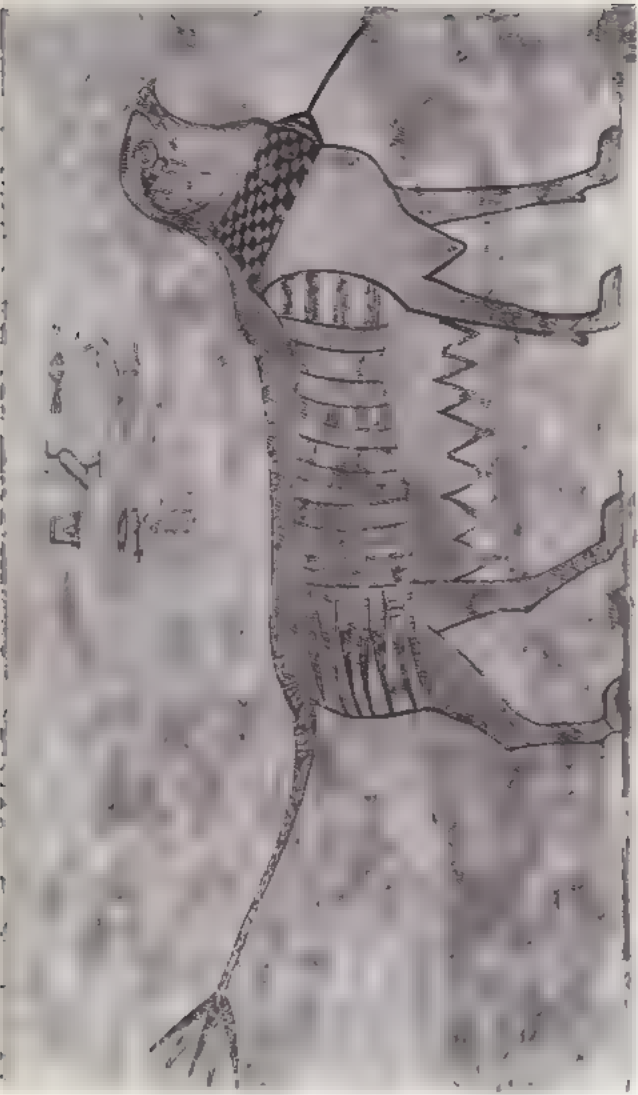
82 Heinrich Goebel, *Wandteppiche, I. Teil, Die Niederlande*, I, Leipzig, 1923, 108–109, pl. 79.

Plates I-LIV

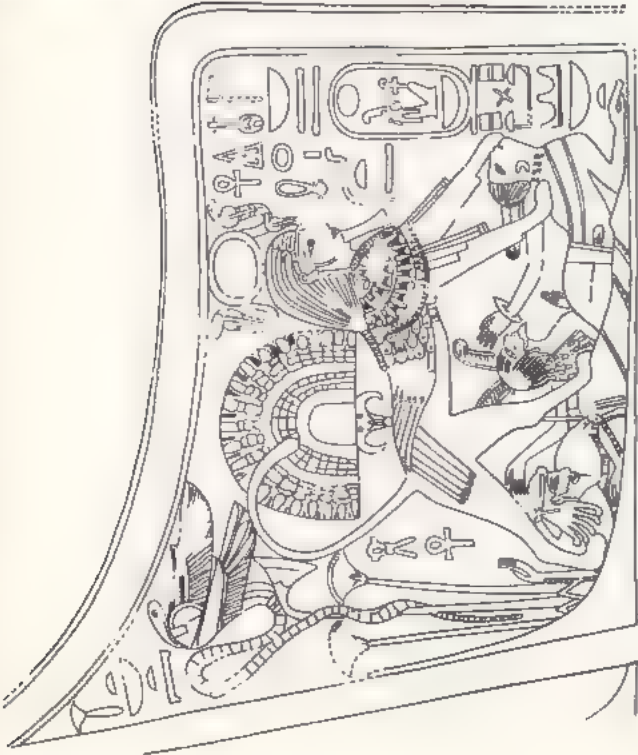




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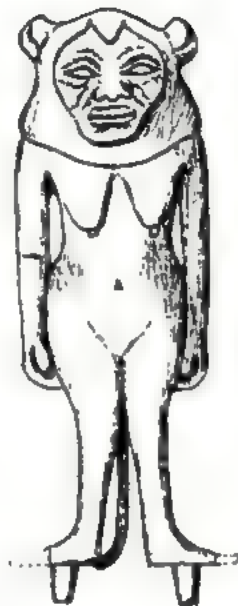


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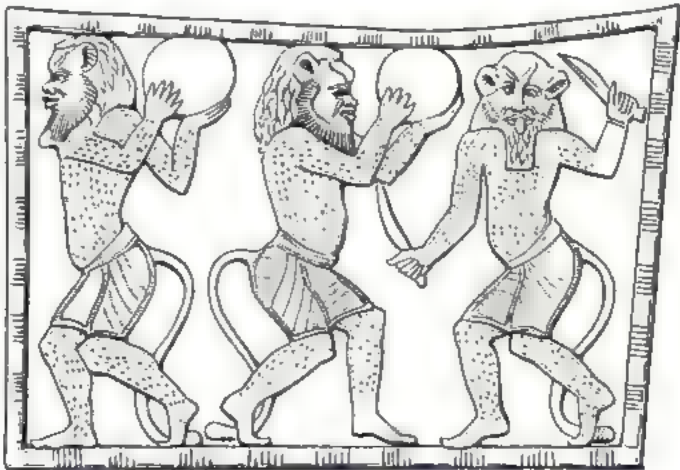
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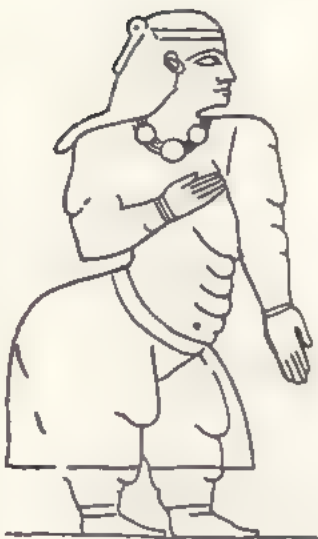
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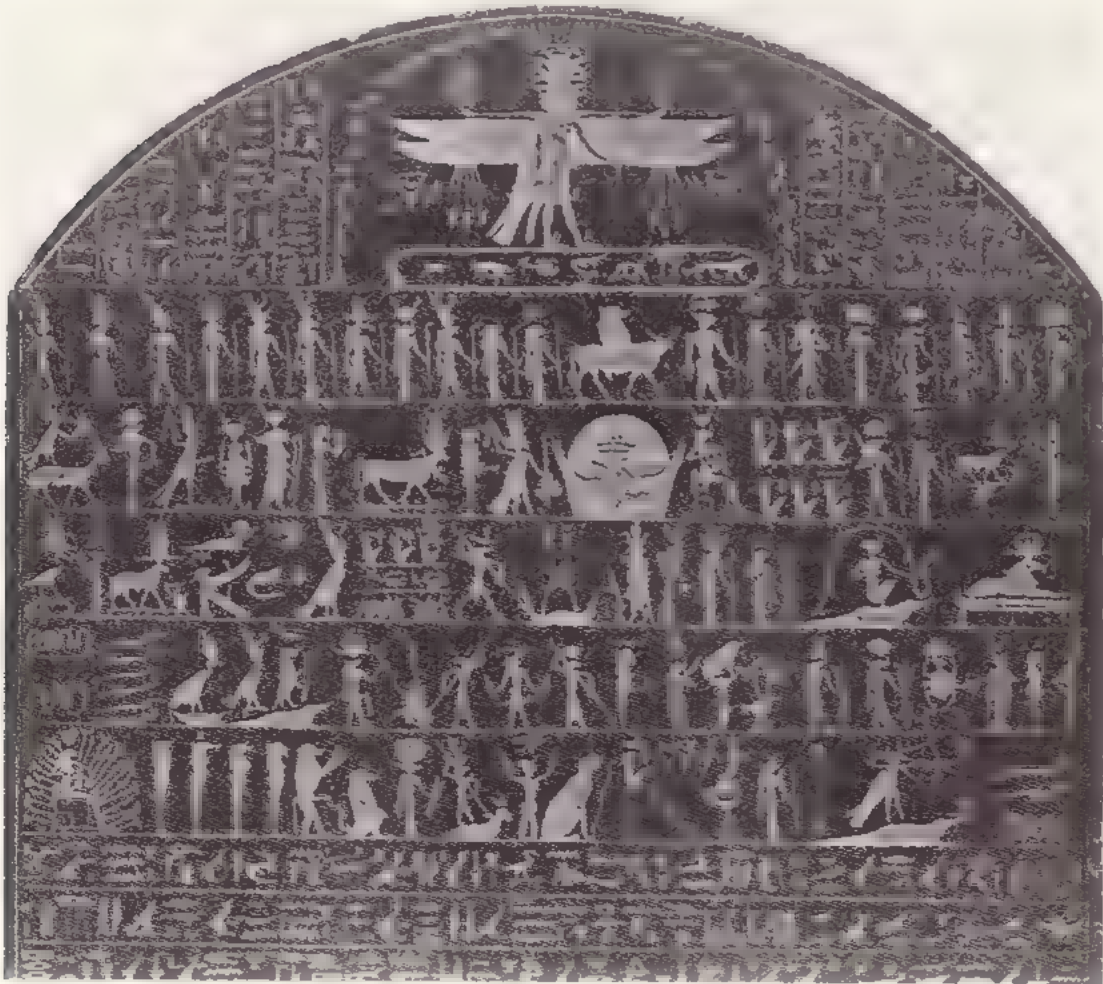
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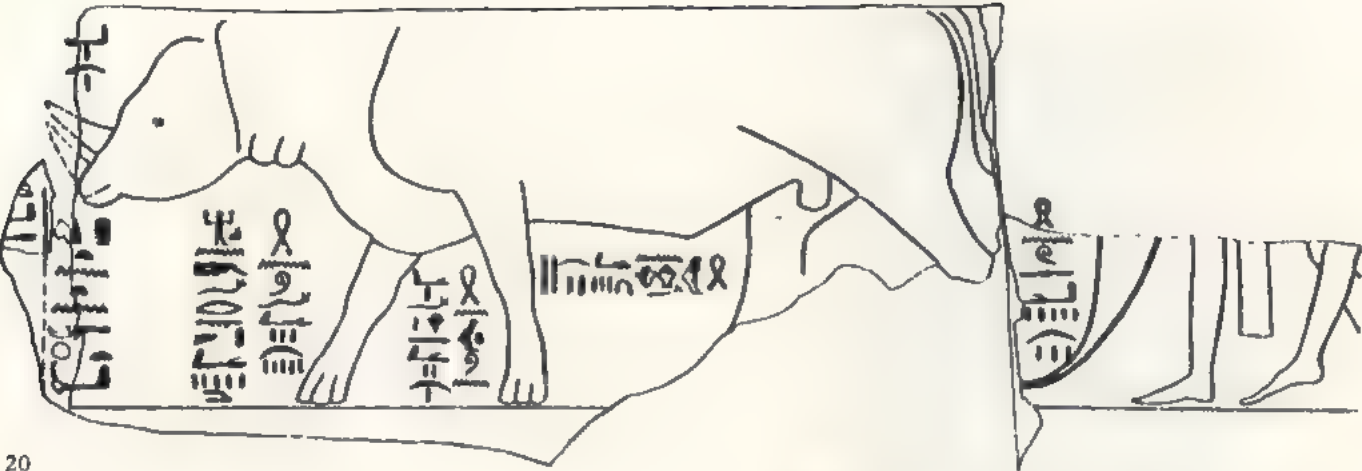
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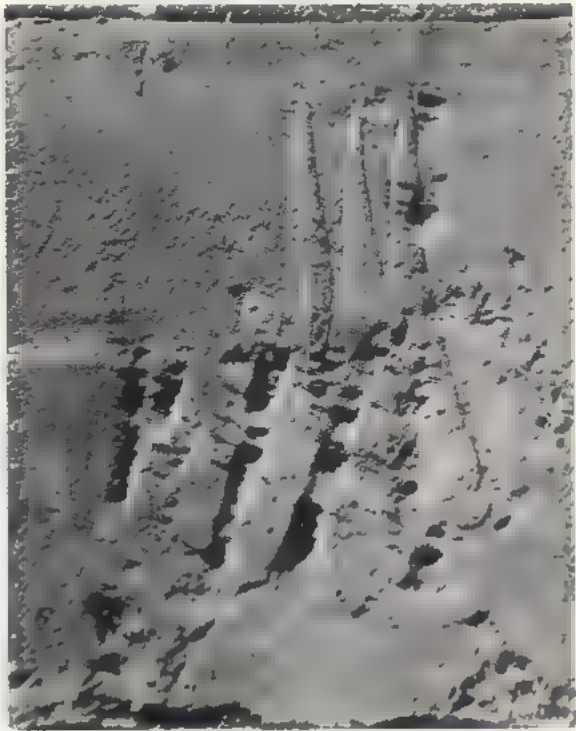
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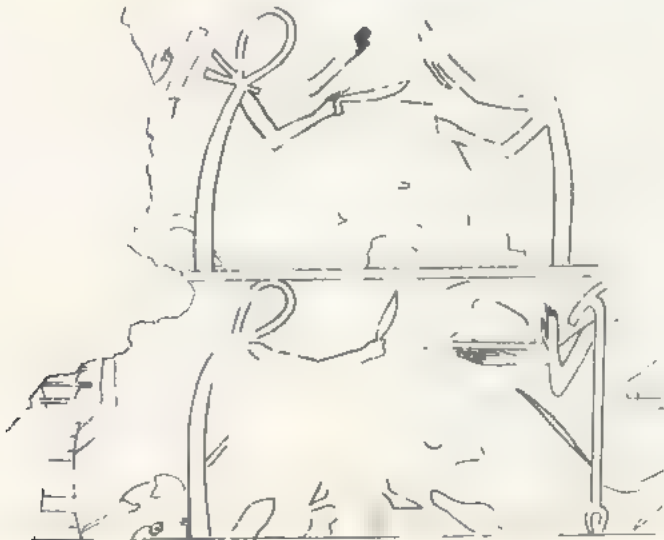
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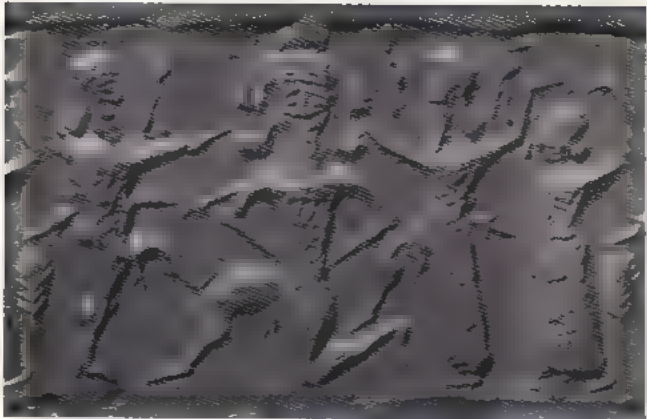
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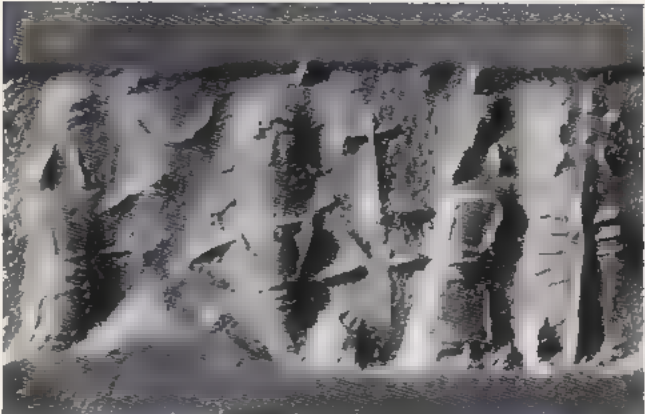
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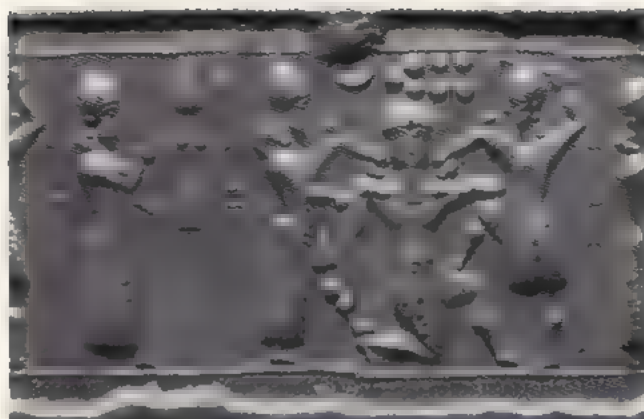
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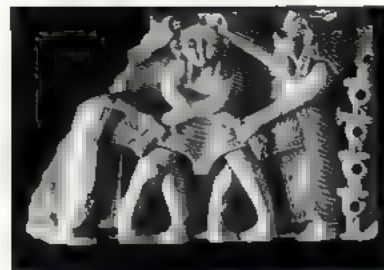
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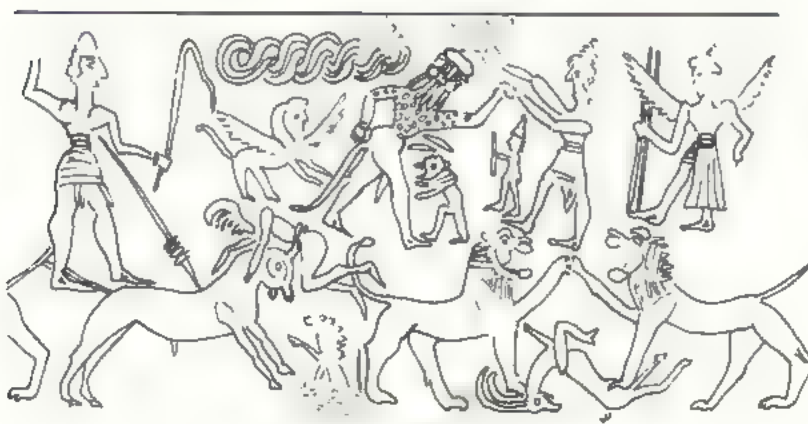
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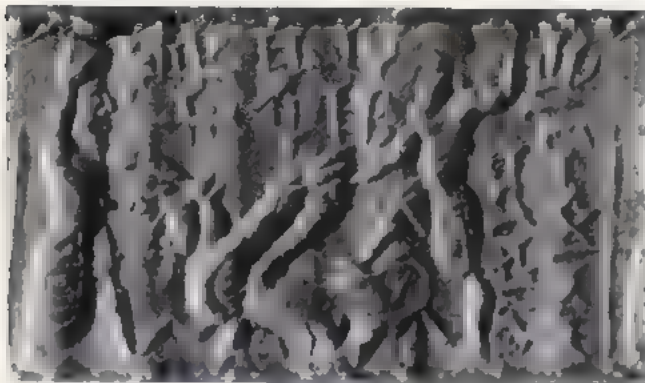
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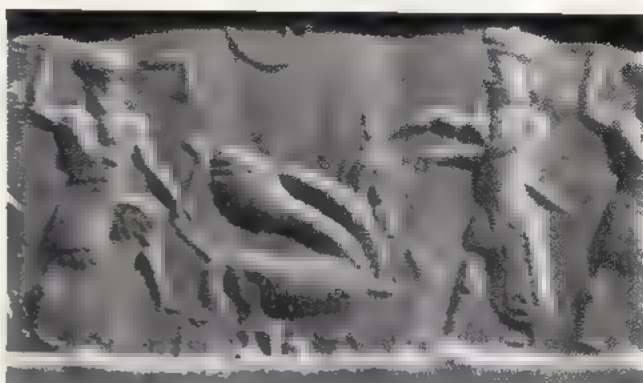
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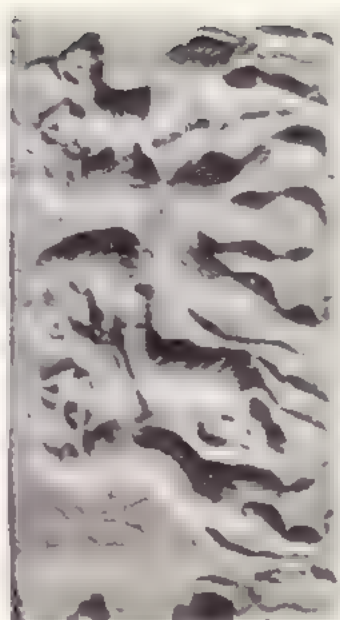
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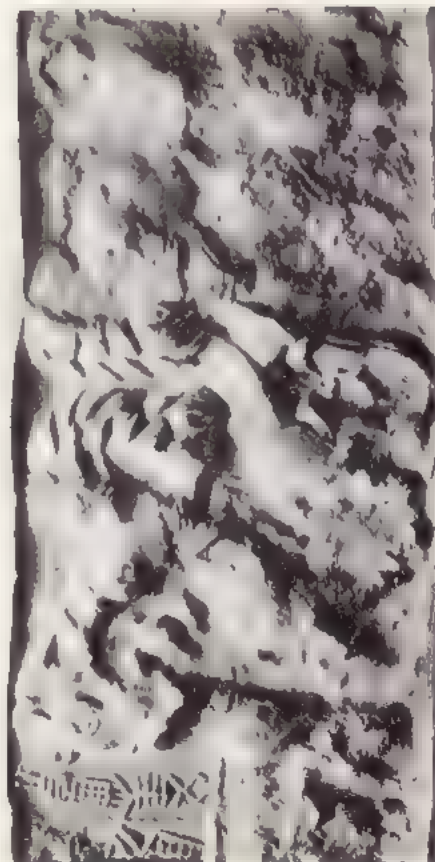
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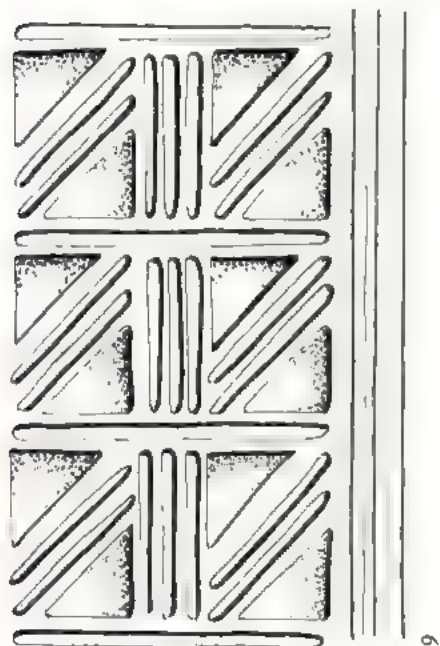
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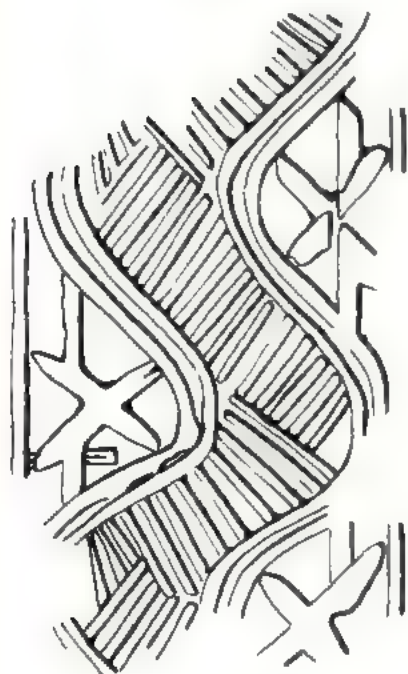
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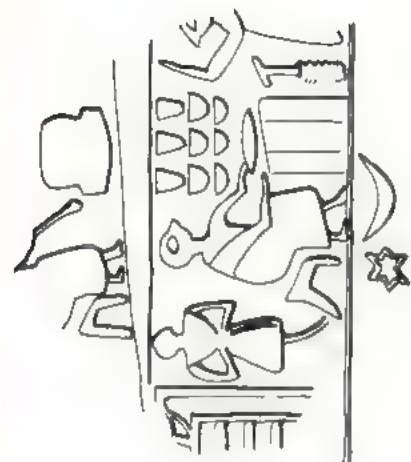
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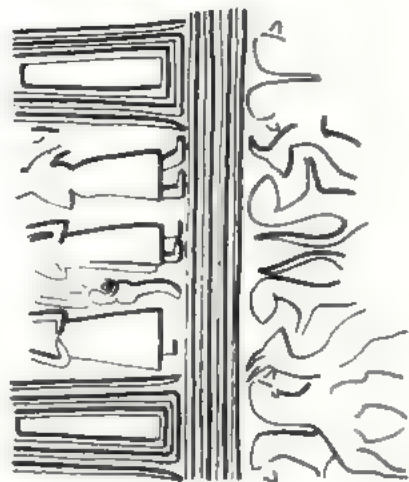
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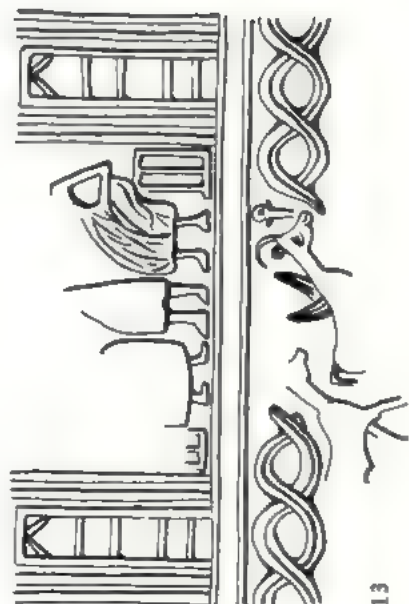
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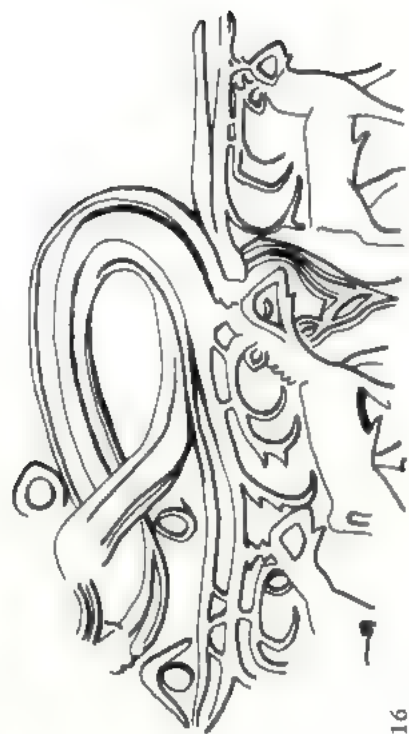
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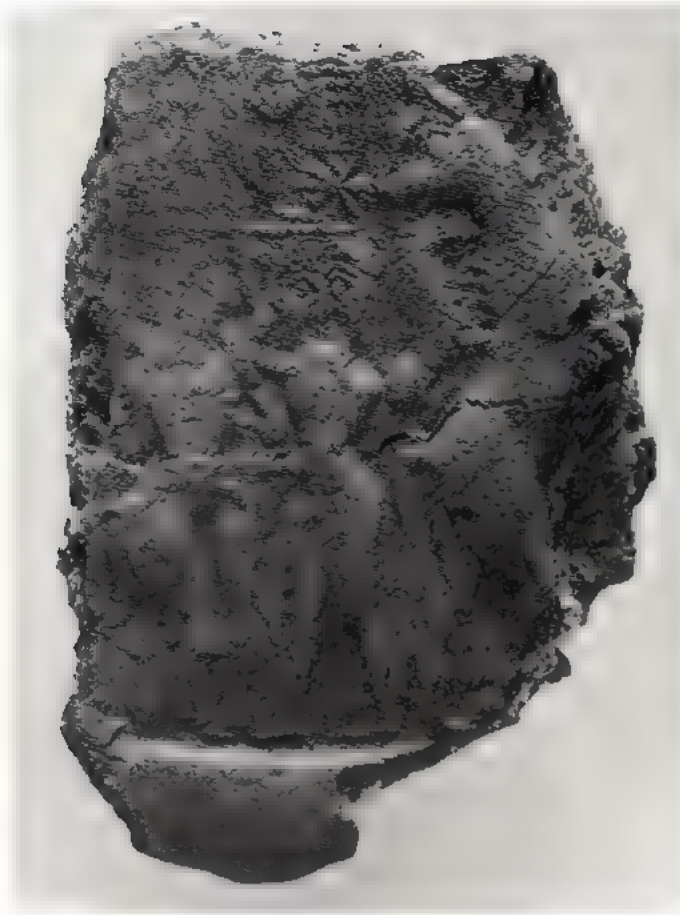
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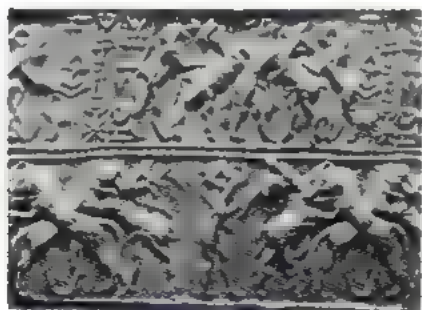
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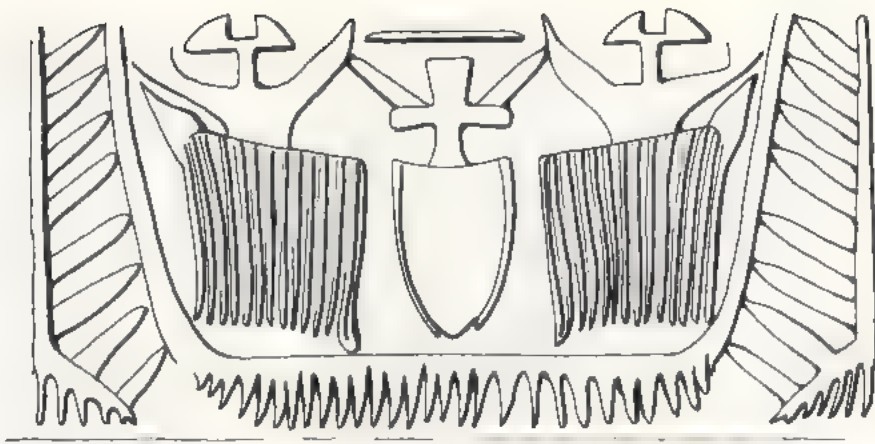
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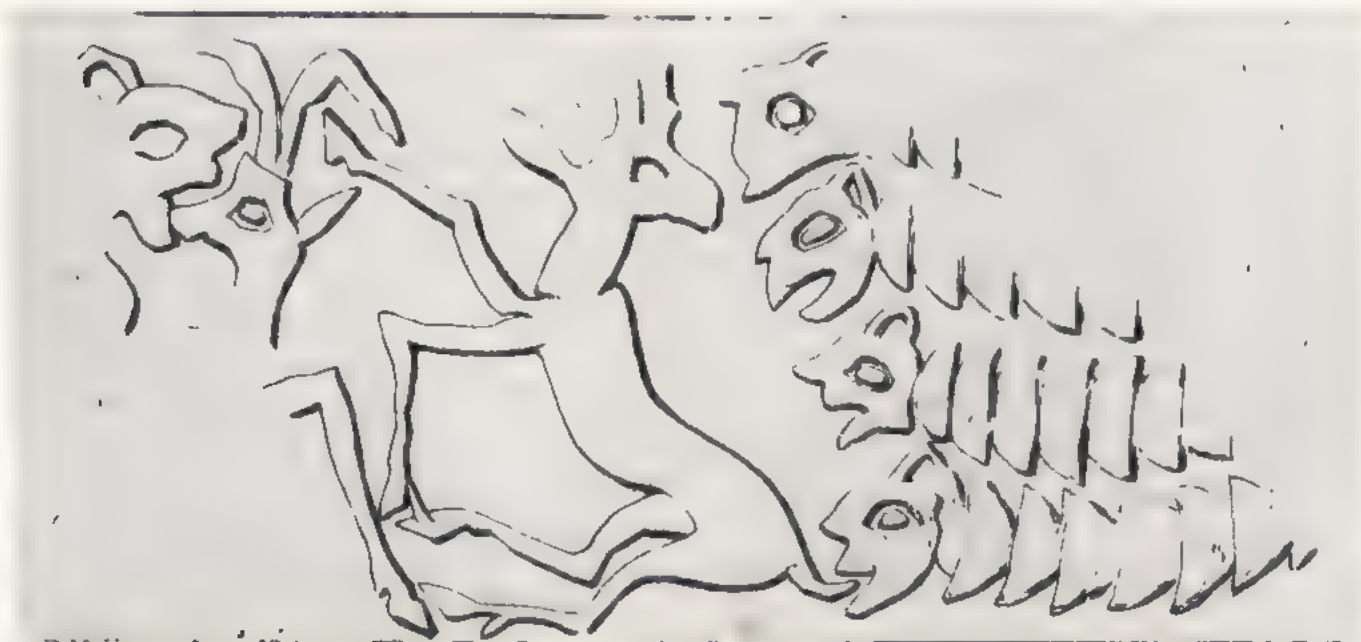
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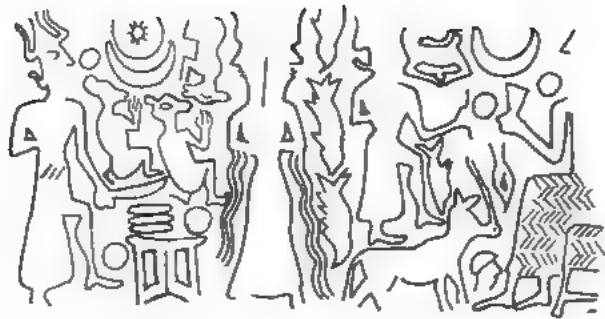
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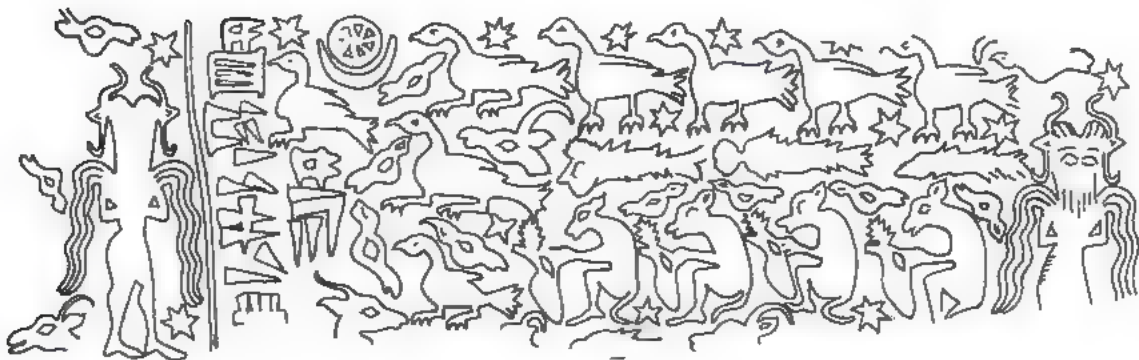
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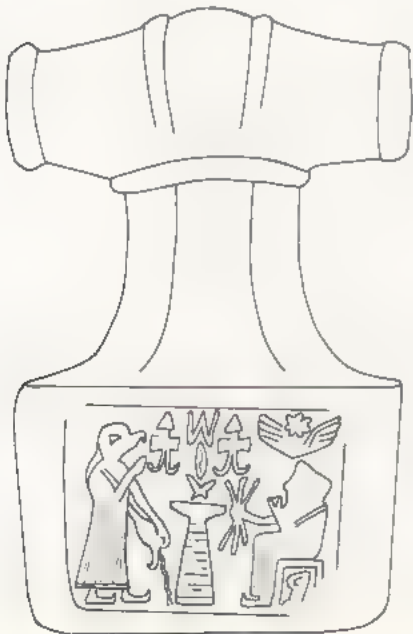
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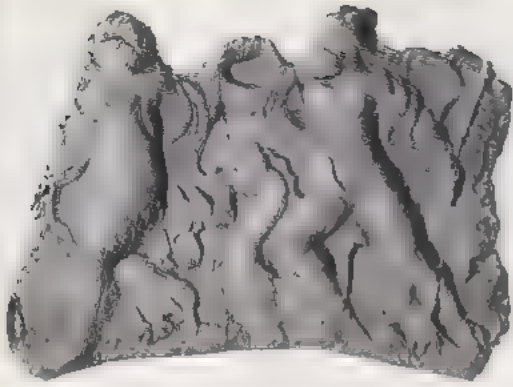
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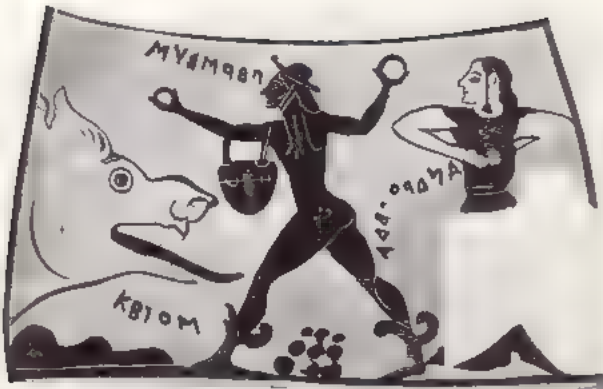
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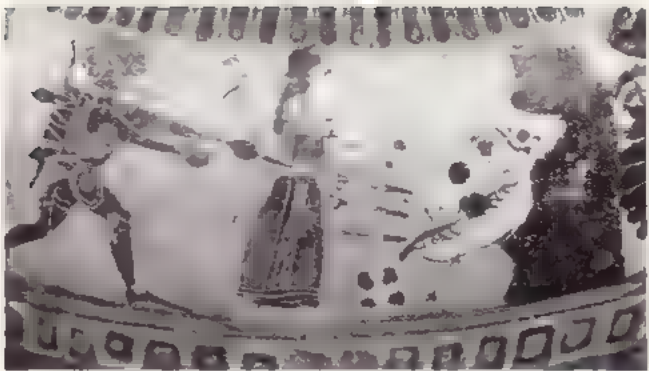
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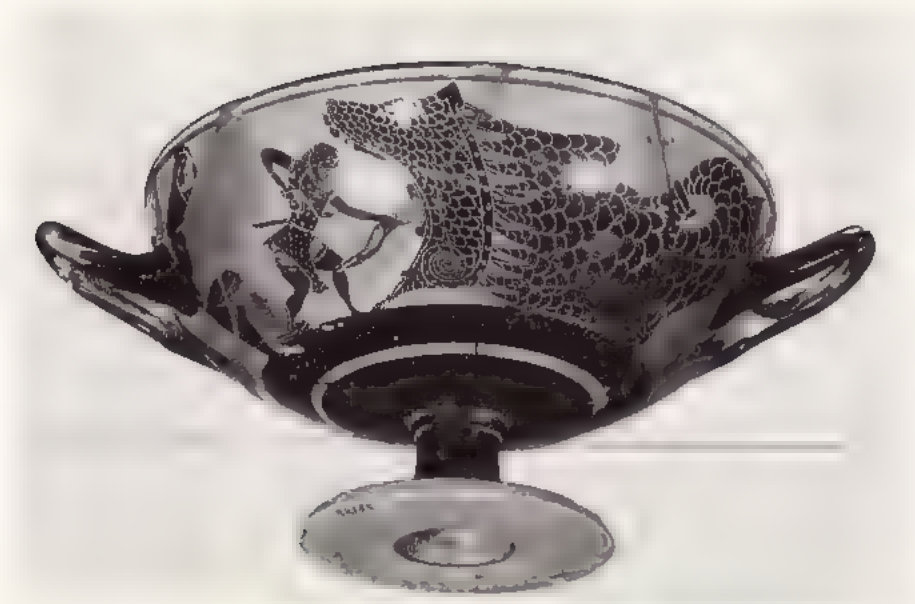
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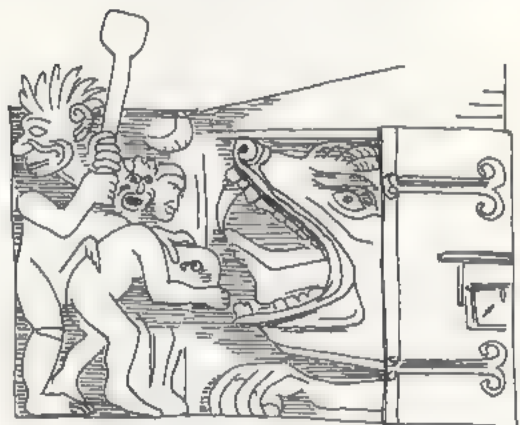
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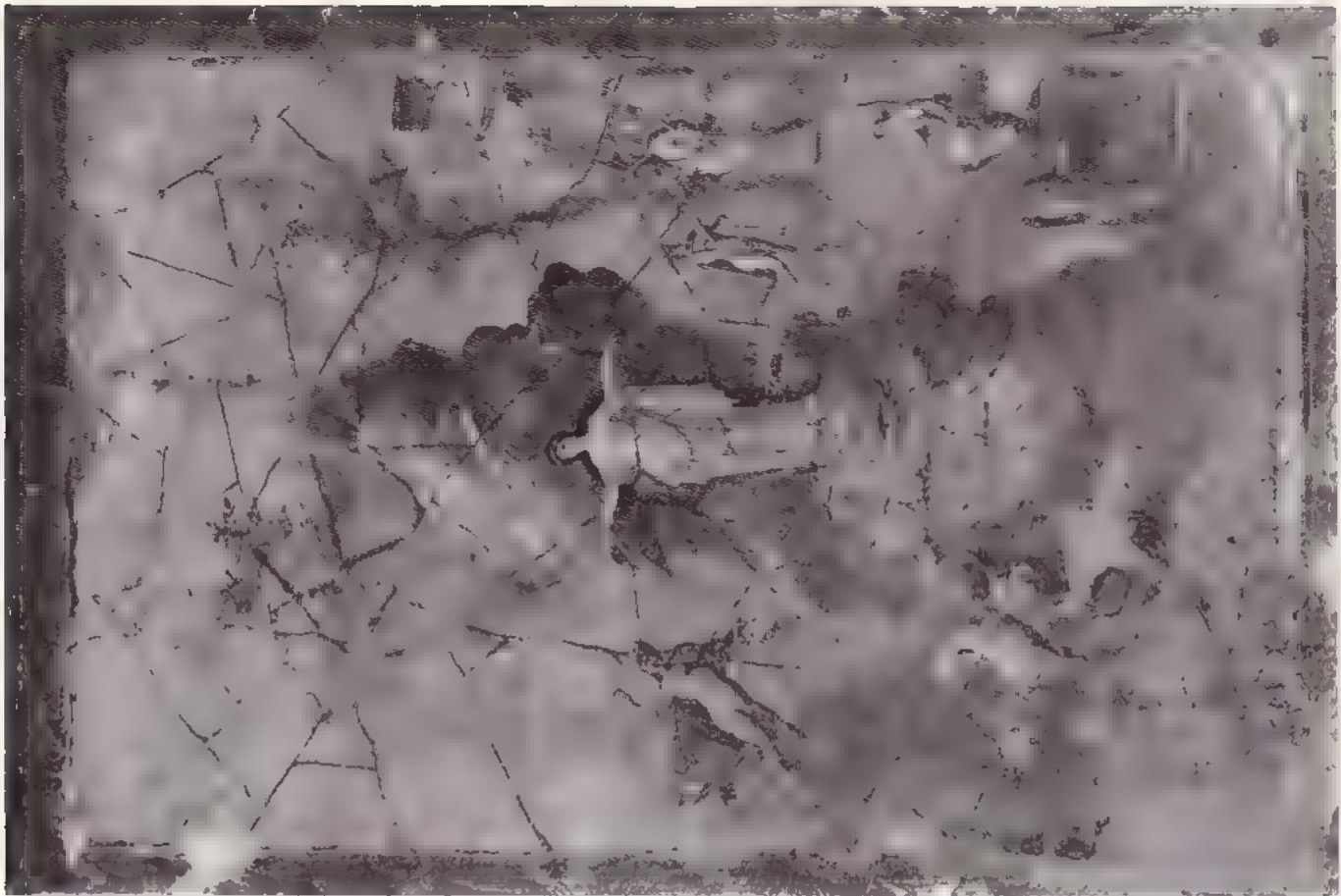
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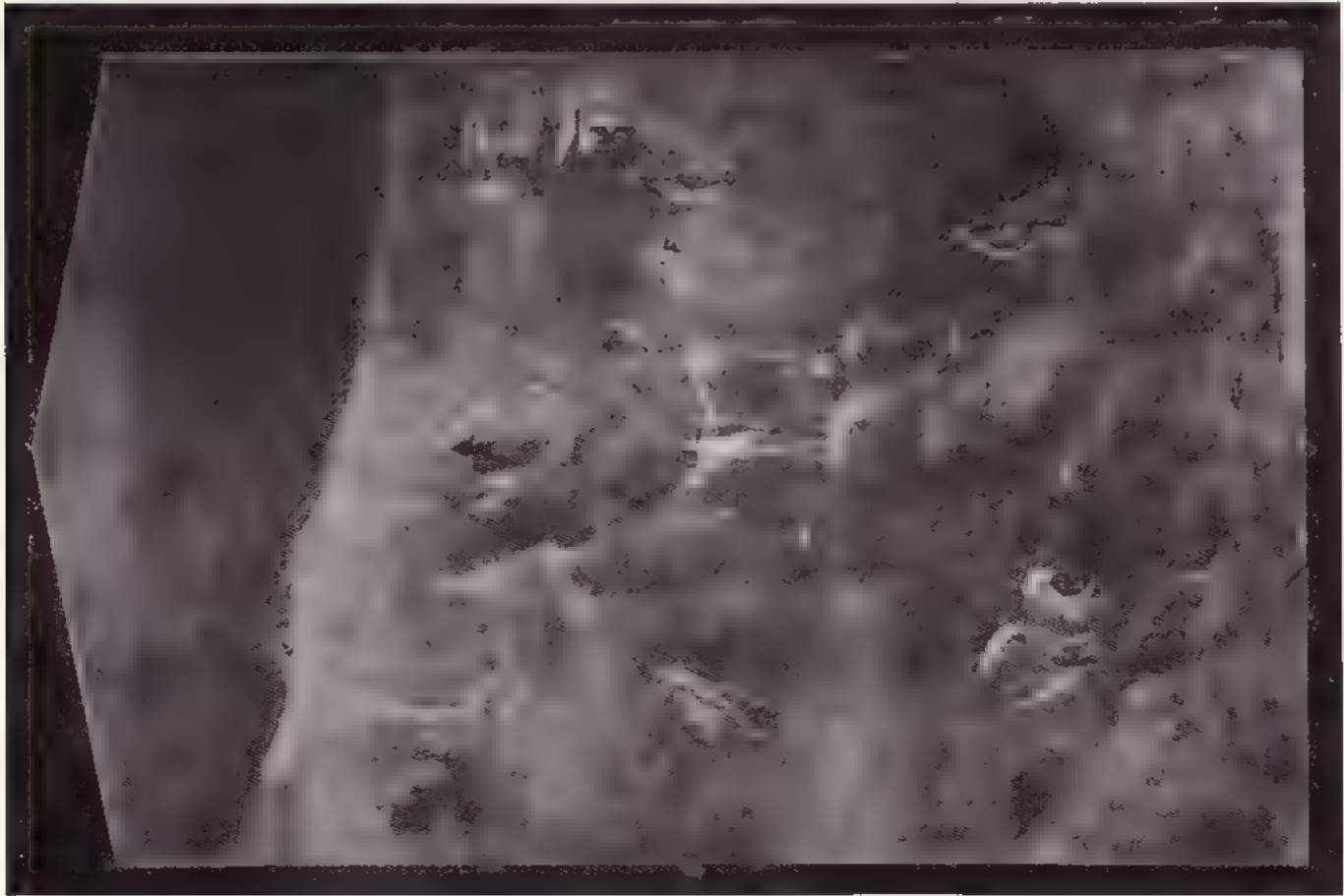
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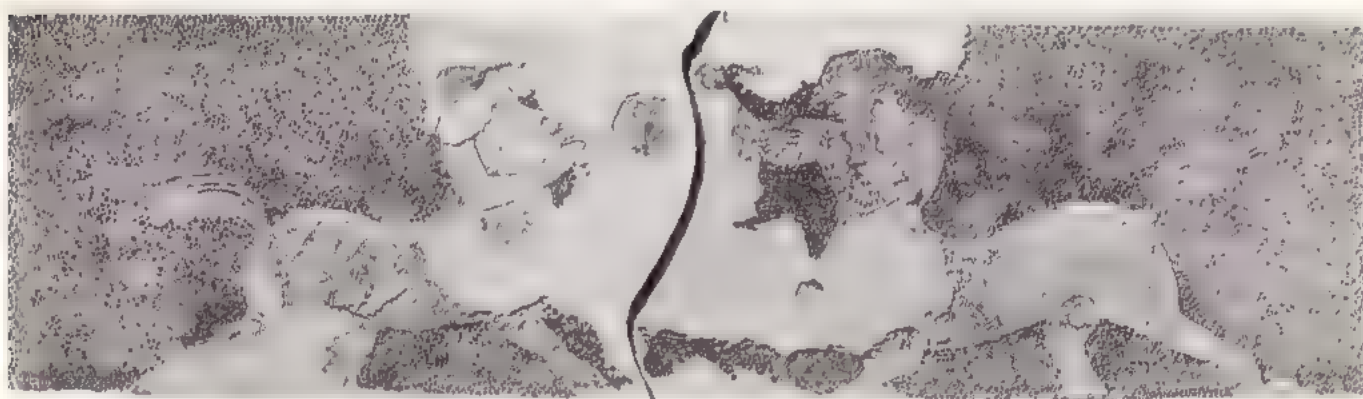
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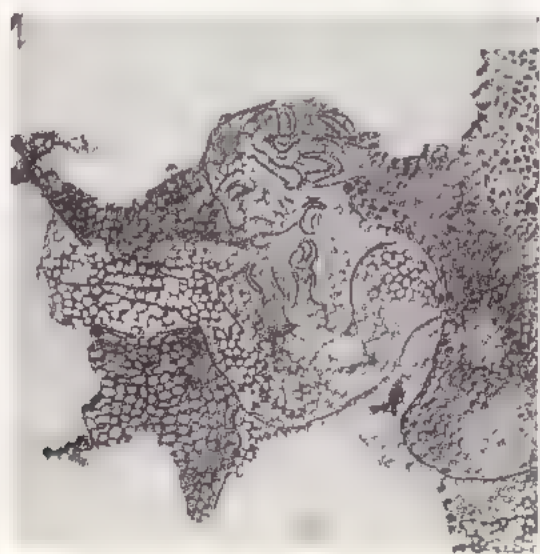
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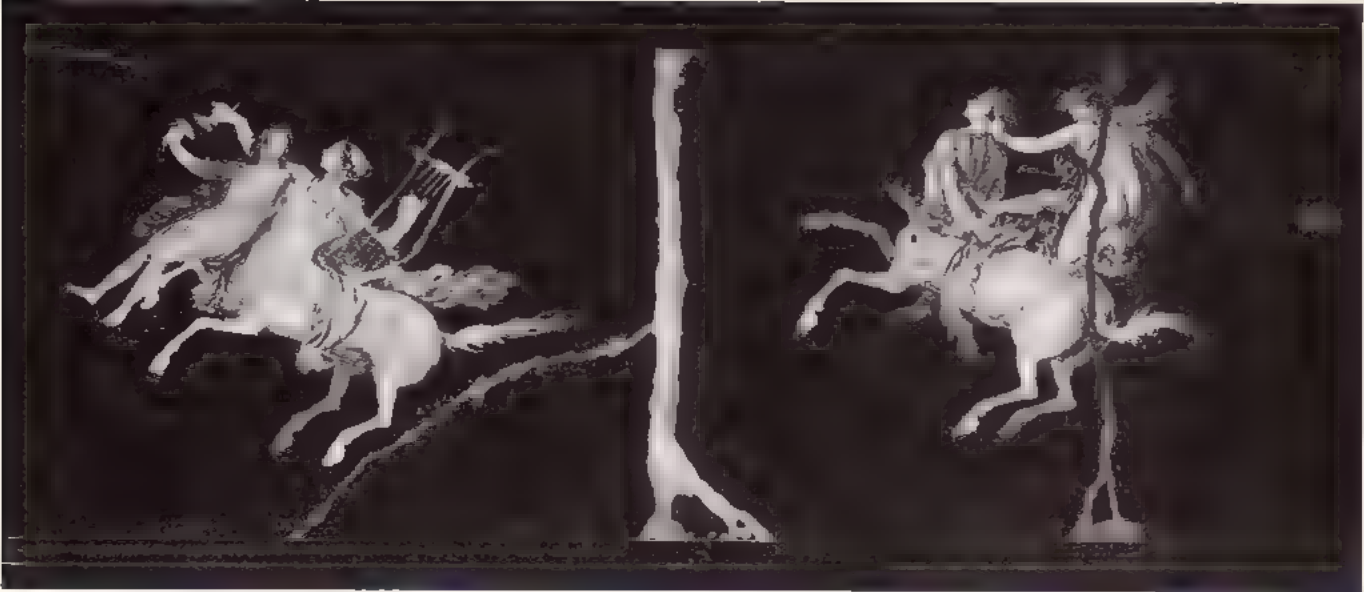
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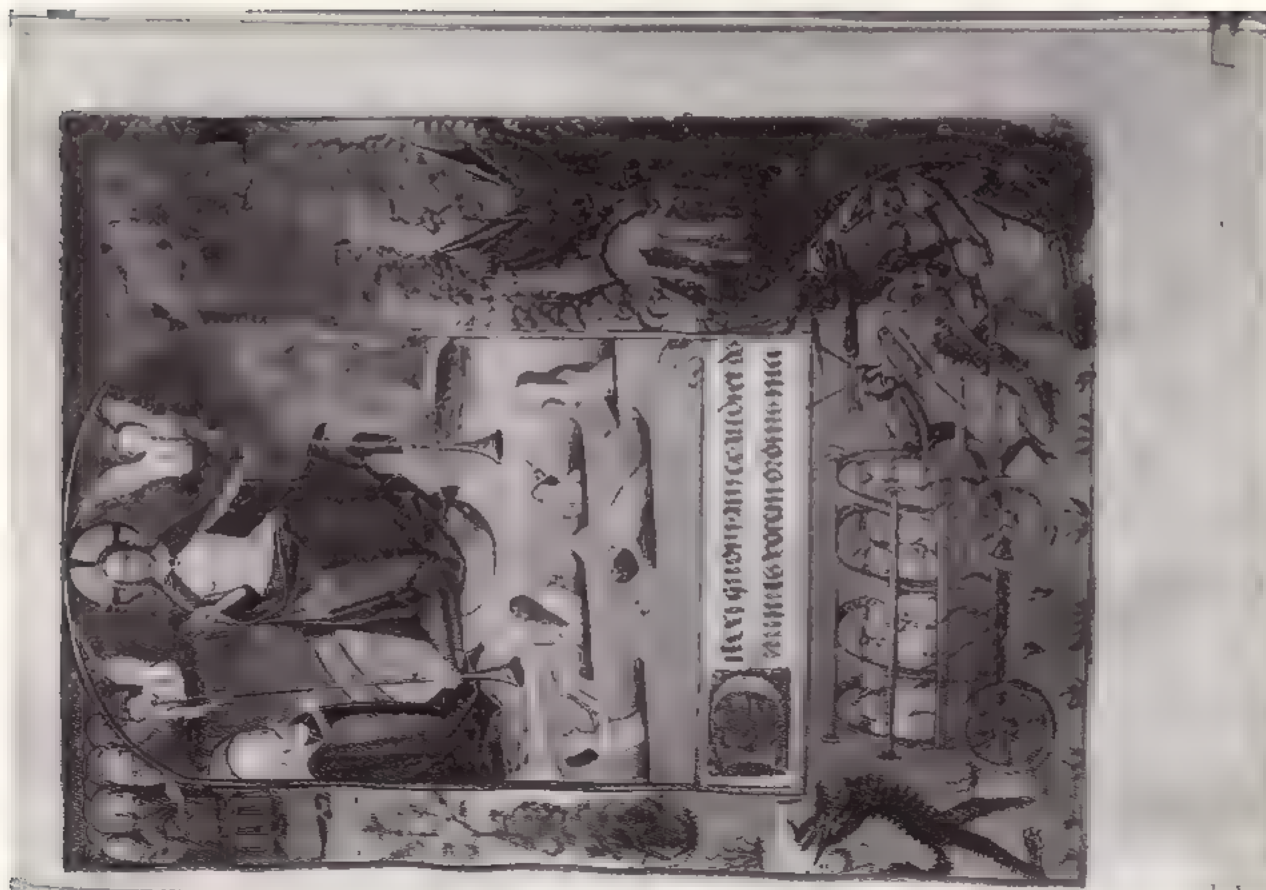
97



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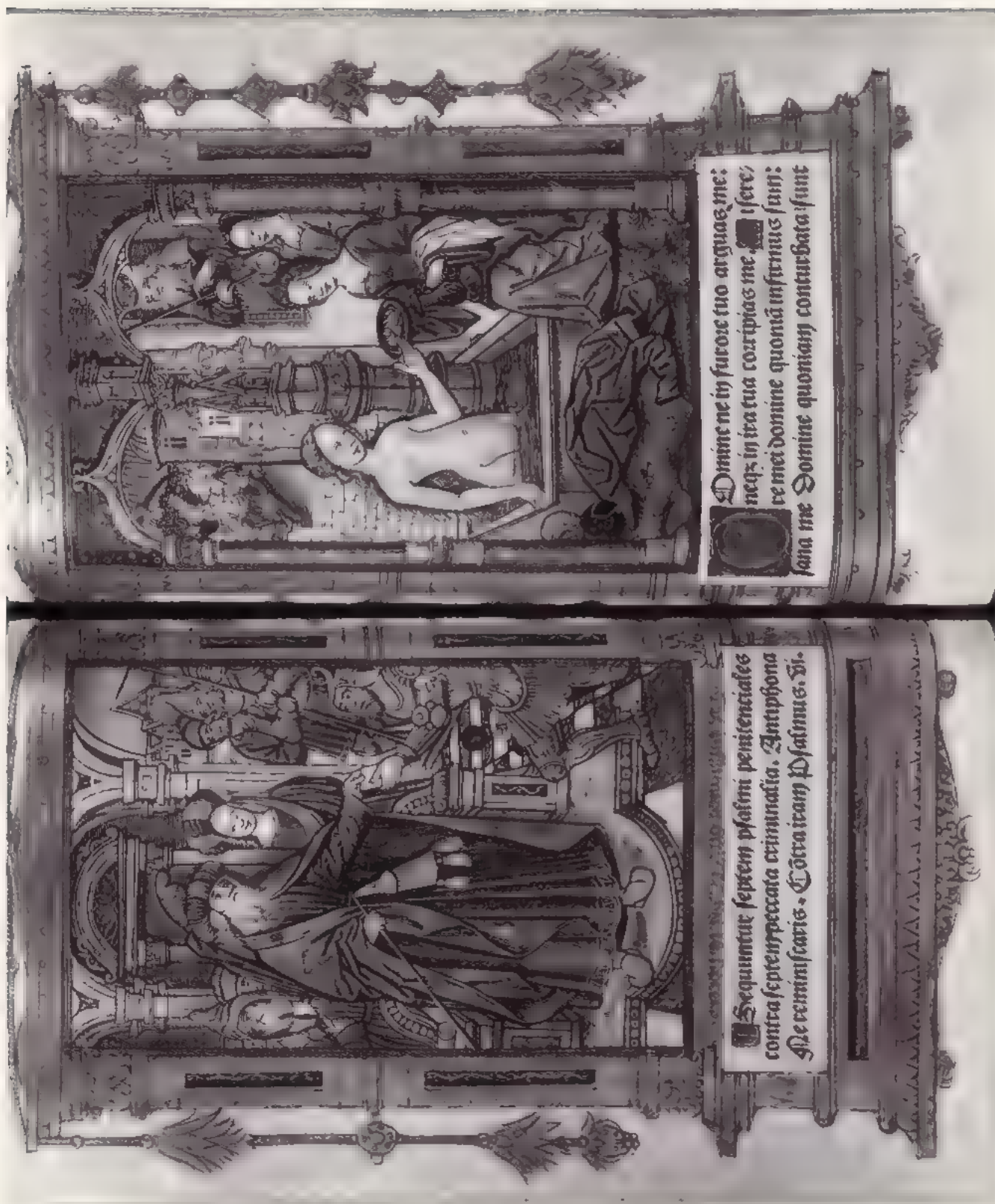


Eie vñ wud von dir schalchait d' hies Der pulch ze d' end Die gemachait d' ier Ich sit in mich der man sel d' chaut ich
 Affer als dich die tre beginnet mit schalchait prauet to zu mā dem leben nur nant pōsen gawm vñ nūme gangkāt und
 fränkēt umb grōßer ihat mā gut gewinogēchait wol rānt und nicht geben zu gedachait am lū chaut d' chelle prāt.
 Juan na. wipre. Spi. ne. Otarius. Ammon. Chann. us.

Ich wil vil tūchē vñ der pē nah sein spitz Die fackhait vñ d' an pauch sit nah hyn fack d' zeu ist Der haiden haizet
 auch essen. und man limer alstāt kack pōsen veigen muckēt eren lūer wamū genant d' hille lūer vñ d' er te volger grōß
 selber nicht vgeftm. hait wēu si zimmer mit emant sāgen. das vaktū lere uuer ite em bediant te fackhait mit.
 Bula. vofus. Siro. moe. ven. ter. Sa. Jal. Jchute. us.

mein pfūget nu all Das lūen sich oft Als die netzel pient An den gemachū mā Pauchwe to pū ich hyn caelūg haizet
 die wte gleich. reit d' in laken lōiget. sonir von hūse alstāt mit wol spūet. wan vñ quant wan vñ kei diese haidē den mag
 am als der reich. unkeusch wū vōlger der minne lūge. keusch te mēsthe curch ist mit bediant unkeusch vñ gōt schant.
 luxu. na. pōnis. vñ. ca. Sen. talia. Beeler. gōt. fereus.

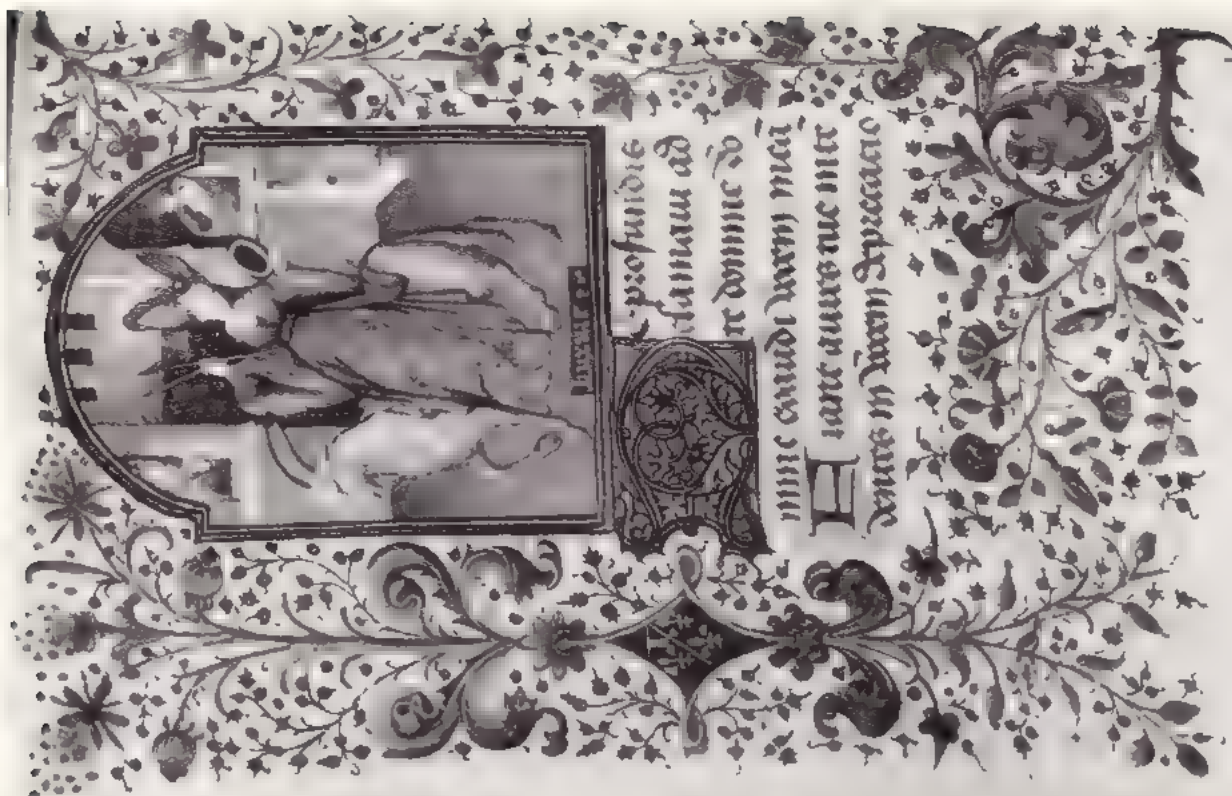
Ut hanc picturam pedestem intelligas et cognoscas. Scias q' primo posui septem vna capitalia, quorū
 quodlibet habet per zonam concordantias sibi annexas, scilicet unam bestiam, unam arborem, unū
 membrū humani corporis, et postea unum demonem, et post unam barbaram gentem, per in super
 scriptis omnib' eundem declaratur, que sibi omnia sic concordant, q' cum suis interpretacōnib' unū eundē
 Rex vltimus.

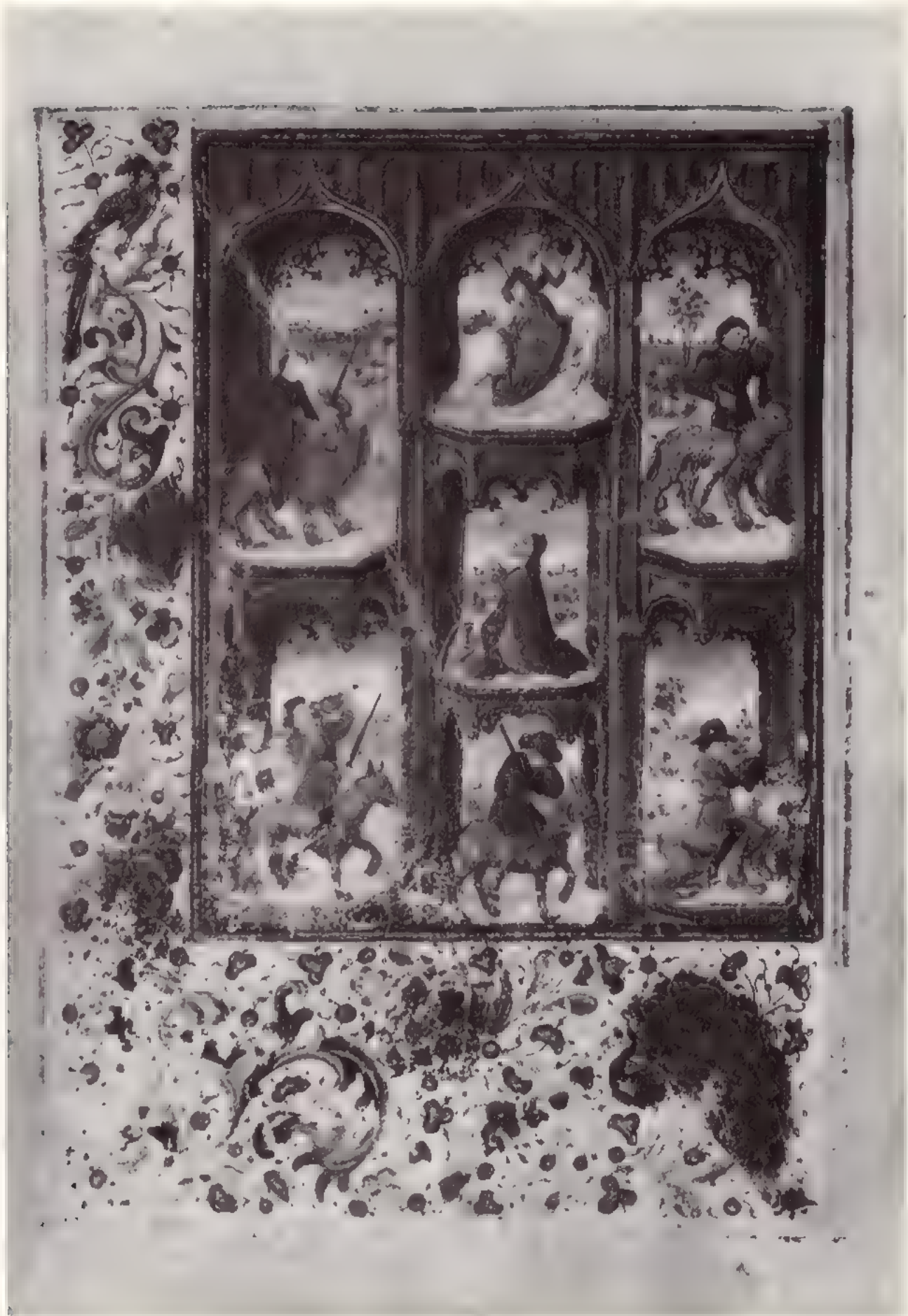




Sont d'auis auoyz à l'un en ung sic deualer en la lamelle afin d'aouir la finie et qd pnt auoir a s'finir le ba
remis dans l'... d'entre de me et apres si eust la premiere et s'foulz on vertus et c.







The noble resolute viſage of a ſeaſon's paſſion ſheweth

1.5

[illegible]







23a



23b



22



